

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XXIV

LOBEL, ROBERTS, TURNER, BARNS

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
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D'ÉTUDES CLASSIQUES, AND WITH THE
ASSISTANCE, ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE
CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DE LA PHILOSOPHIE
ET DES SCIENCES HUMAINES, OF A
SUBVENTION FROM U.N.E.S.C.O.

EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
PART XXIV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

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PREFACE

FOR this Part Mr. Lobel has marshalled the tattered and difficult fragments, both of text and scholarly commentary, of Laconian poetry published under nos. 2387-2397 and a newly identified scrap of Callimachus (2398). The transcription and account of the Terence leaves (2401) are the work of Mr. C. H. Roberts. Professor Otto Skutsch of University College, London, has given valuable assistance in their critical assessment. Turner has taken for his share the new theological texts 2383-2386, two new prose texts, 2399 and 2400, the known texts of Aristotle and Aeschines 2402-2404, and the house plan 2406. The scholia minora found in 2405 and all the documents are the work of the Rev. Dr. John Barns.

Thanks are due to Dr. P. Walcot, of the University College of Wales, Cardiff, for compiling the index to Mr. Lobel's section; to U.N.E.S.C.O. for a grant of five hundred dollars towards the cost of publishing this very expensive work; and to the staff of the Oxford University Press for their care in its production.

E. G. TURNER
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CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
LIST OF PLATES	ix
TABLE OF PAPYRI	xi
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION	xiii

TEXTS

THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS (2383-2386)	I
NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS (2387-2400)	8
EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS (2401-2405)	110
DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS (2406-2425)	142

INDEXES

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS:	
(a) 2387-2398	194
(b) 2399-2400	198
(c) 2405	199
II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS	200
III. CONSULS	200
IV. INDICATIONS	200
V. MONTHS AND DAYS	201
VI. PERSONAL NAMES	201
VII. GEOGRAPHICAL:	
(a) Countries, Nomes, Toparchies, Cities, &c.	206
(b) Villages, &c.	206
(c) Miscellaneous	207
VIII. RELIGION	207
IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES	207

X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS	208
XI. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS	208
XII. TAXES	209
XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS	209

LIST OF PLATES

I. 2387 frs. 1, 2, 4, II-33
II. 2387 frs. 3, 5-10
III. 2388, 2392
IV. 2389 frs. 1-5, 14-19, 21-34
V. 2389 frs. 6-13, 20
VI. 2389 fr. 35
VII. 2390 frs. 1, 45-50
VIII. 2390 frs. 2-13
IX. 2390 frs. 14-44, 2393, 2395, 2396
X. 2391
XI. 2394
XII. 2397, 2398
XIII. 2383, 2384, 2385, 2402 fr. ii, 2404
XIV. 2399
XV. 2401
XVI. 2406

NUMBERS AND PLATES

2383 St. Luke	Plate XIII
2384 St. Matthew xi	Plate XIII
2385 St. Matthew xix	Plate XIII
2387 Alcman. Frs. 1, 2, 4, II-33 3, 5-10	Plate I Plate II
2388 Alcman	Plate III
2389 Commentary on Alcman. Frs. 1-5, 14-19, 21-34 6-13, 20 35	Plate IV Plate V Plate VI

NUMBERS AND PLATES

2390	Commentary on Alcman (<i>et al?</i>). Frr. 1, 45-50	Plate VII
	2-13	Plate VIII
	14-44	Plate IX
2391	Commentary on Alcman?	Plate X
2392	Colophon of Dionysius, <i>Commentary on Alcman, Bk. iv</i>	Plate III
2393	Alcman lexicon	Plate IX
2394	Choral lyric (? Alcman)	Plate XI
2395	Lyric verses	Plate IX
2396	Label of Tryphon, <i>Spartan dialect</i>	Plate IX
2397	Commentary on <i>Il.</i> xvii	Plate XII
2398	Callimachus, <i>Hecale</i>	Plate XII
2399	Sicilian Historian	Plate XIV
2401	Terence, <i>Andria</i>	Plate XV
2402	Aristotle, <i>Nic. Eth.</i>	Plate XIII
2404	Aeschines	Plate XIII
2406	House plan	Plate XVI

TABLE OF PAPYRI

2383.	Gospel acc. to St. Luke xxii	3rd cent. ¹	1
2384.	Gospel acc. to St. Matthew xi, xii	3rd/4th cent.	4
2385.	Gospel acc. to St. Matthew xix	4th cent.	5
2386.	Psalms 83(84)-84(85)	4th or 5th cent.	6
2387.	Alcman, <i>Παρθένια</i>	Late 1st cent. B.C. or early 1st cent. A.D.	8
2388.	Alcman	2nd half of 2nd cent.	22
2389.	Commentary on Alcman	2nd half of 1st cent.	28
2390.	Commentary on Alcman, etc.	2nd cent.	49
2391.	Commentary on Alcman(?)	1st cent.	70
2392.	Dionysius, <i>Commentary on Alcman,</i> <i>Μέλη, Bk. iv (Colophon)</i>	2nd cent.	79
2393.	Alcman lexicon	2nd cent.	80
2394.	Choral lyric in the Doric dialect (? Alcman)	Late 2nd or 3rd cent.	81
2395.	Lyric verses	Early 3rd cent.	87
2396.	Label of Tryphon, <i>Spartan dialect</i>	2nd cent.	89
2397.	Commentary on <i>Iliad</i> xvii	2nd half of 1st cent.	91
2398.	Callimachus, <i>Hecale</i>	1st half of 2nd cent.	97
2399.	Anonymous (Duris?), History of Sicily under Agathocles	1st cent. B.C.	99
2400.	Subjects for declamations	3rd cent.	107
2401.	Terence, <i>Andria</i>	?4th cent.	110
2402.	Aristotle, <i>Ethica Nicomachea</i> vi	Mid. 2nd cent.	124
2403.	Aristotle, <i>Categoriae</i>	Early 3rd cent.	126
2404.	Aeschines, <i>In Ctesiphontem</i> 51-53	2nd cent.	130
2405.	Glossary to Homer, <i>Iliad</i> i	2nd to 3rd cent.	132
2406.	Ground-plan of a house	2nd cent.	142
2407.	Memoranda of proceedings of a pub- lic meeting	Late 3rd cent.	145
2408.	Letter from the <i>Praefectus Annonae</i> <i>Alexandriae</i> 397	397	155
2409.	Memoranda of an official	Late 2nd cent.	157
2410.	Petition	120	158

¹ All dates are A.D. unless otherwise noted.

TABLE OF POPYRI

2411.	Petition	Prob. c. 173	160
2412.	Account of money payments	28/9	164
2413.	Account of tax arrears	Prob. after 140	171
2414.	Account of taxation	Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.	174
2415.	Account of corn freights	Late 3rd cent.	176
2416.	Note about an inheritance	6th to 7th cent.	180
2417.	Memoranda of proceedings of Senate	286	182
2418.	Petition	5th or 6th cent.	182
2419.	Declaration	6th cent.	183
2420.	Deed of surety	610	184
2421.	Account of wheat	Early 4th cent.	185
2422.	Account of beef and pork	290	188
2423.	Private accounts	2nd/3rd cent.	191
2424.	List of articles	2nd/3rd cent.	192
2425.	Private account	3rd/4th cent.	192

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION
AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXII. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed, in the case of the new literary texts, edited by Mr. Lobel, slightly below the line. Elsewhere, throughout, the more usual practice is followed, the dots being printed on the line. Furthermore, in the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (ninth ed.). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

2383. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE xxii

5 × 8.5 cm.

Third century. *Plate*

Fragment of a leaf of papyrus codex containing on the recto side Luke xxii 41 and 45-48, 42-44 being omitted, and on the verso side xxii 58-61. On the recto the ink is almost effaced and the text is readable only with difficulty. The handwriting consists of rough rounded capitals of moderate size, of the type found in a good documentary hand rather than in a literary hand. It is of the same general character but more formal than that found in the Dictys of P. Teb. 268, or the petition P. Lond. Inv. 2565 (*JEA* xxi (1935), plate opp. p. 224), less formal than the generally similar Africanus hand of 412. All these examples are dated more or less securely to the middle of the third century, the period to which this scrap should no doubt also be assigned. Comparison is also worth while with 2, a papyrus codex of Matthew which is now usually dated to the third century. The scribe uses no punctuation. *Nomina sacra* are found as follows: $\overline{\text{I}\eta\upsilon}$ l. 13, $\overline{\text{a}[\nu]\epsilon}$ l. 21; and $\overline{\text{ave}}$ (and $\overline{\text{kv}}$) are needed for restorations in ll. 16 and 26 respectively.

Each line appears to have contained between 20 and 26 letters, 23-24 being the commonest number. Between the last line of the recto and the first line of the verso about 780 letters are missing if we suppose the scribe to have omitted nothing. This is equivalent to, say, 35-36 lines. If each leaf held only a single column, each column would be of 48-50 lines, with a height of over 28 cm. and a width of 15 cm. This is the most likely hypothesis. For apart from the rarity of papyrus codices of the Gospels with two columns to the page, the empty space on the right-hand side of the recto and the left-hand side of the verso is most naturally interpreted as the margin of the leaf, so that even if the page held two columns, the two columns that survive are in fact consecutive. If the space does not represent the margin of the leaf but an inter-columnar space, the missing intermediate section has to be divided between three columns, and the height of these could hardly be more than the 8 cm. of the surviving portion, an unlikely format.

Since nowhere does more than a third of the length of line survive, the text offered here is a work of reconstruction based on the necessity for a line of 23-24 letters mean length. In its formation I should like to acknowledge the help derived from the suggestions and criticisms of Professor Hollis W. Huston, of Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, who also made useful suggestions for 2384 and 2385. The text is idiosyncratic. Some of its peculiarities may be due to mere error on the part of the scribe. Certainly he commits faults of omission (ll. 3-4 n.), and he may be responsible for the incorporation into the text as a doublet ($\overline{\text{καθεύ}}\overline{\text{δουρας}}\overline{\text{κοι}}\overline{\text{μωμένους}}$)

ll. 5-6) of what was intended as a correction or gloss. But a number of points remains, not all imputable to careless copying. Some consist in the omission of a single word or the addition of a name, others in a variation of word order. An interesting variant is that in v. 6r according to which when the cock crew after Peter's denial, Peter turned and looked at it. The scribe's large omission on the recto is easier to explain (ll. 3-4 nn.) if his exemplar did not in fact contain vv. 43-44, the incident of the appearance of the angel and of the bloody sweat. This question apart, the papyrus lines up with none of the well-known groups. It contains three examples of characteristic D-readings (ll. 13, 16, 27), but these are counterbalanced by eight disagreements with D. Unimportant agreements with Kenyon's α group are found at l. 16, with his β group at l. 26.

The papyrus has been assigned the number p 69.

Recto

	
]. [. .] . [
	ωσ]ει λιθου β[ολην]	xxii 41
	και θεις τα γονατα προσ]ηυχετο	
	και ελθων προς τους μαθ]ητ[ας ευ-	45
5	ρεν αυτους καθευ]δοντας κοι-	
	μωμενους απο τη]ς λυπης [κ]αι	46
	ειπεν αυτοις] τι καθευδε-	
	τε ανασταντες προ]σρευχεσθε	
	να μη εισελθητε εις πεν]ασμων	
10	ετι δε αυτου λαλου]ντος ιδου (	47
	οχλος και ο λεγομενος Ιου]δας	
	εις των ιβ] προηρχετο α]ν[τ]ρους	
	και εγγισας εφίλησε]ν τον Ιη]ν	
	Ιουδα φι]λη] [ματι	48
	

Verso

	
15	. . .] αν[τ]ω ε[	58
	ο δε ειπεν [ανε ουκ ειμι και δι-	59
	αστασης ωσ]ει ωρας αλλος ισχυ-	
	ριζετο λεγ]ων επ αληθειας και	
	ουτος ην με]τ αυτου και γαρ Γα-	
20	λ[ι]λαιος εστ]ιω ειπε δε ο Πιερρος	60
	α]ν]ε ουκ οιδ]α ο λεγεις και ετι	
	αυτου λαλου]ντος παραρημα	
	εφωνησεν [αλεκτωρ και στρα-	61
	φεις ο Πιερ]ρος ενεβλεψεν αυ-	
25	τω τοτε [υπεμνησθη ο Πιερρος	
	του ρημ]ατος του κυ] ως ειπεν	
	αυτω π[ριν αλεκτορα φωνησαι ση-	
	με]ρον	
	

1 The merest traces.

3 The ending cannot be read as *εὐχῆς*, that is, as part of v. 45.

4 Before the surviving part of l. 5 the minimum syntactical requirement is *εδρεν αυτους καθευ]δον-τας*, which is too long for that line. Part of the clause must therefore have fallen in the previous line, and the presence of two horizontals (the rest of the ink being entirely rubbed away) in a position consistent with ητ of μαθ]ητ[ας is the authority for restoring l. 4 as the second part of v. 45. PSI 2 (= 0171) has *και* before *ελθων*. It is assumed that the scribe's eye travelled from *προσηυχετο* v. 41 to *προσευχῆς* v. 45. Such an omission by homoeoteleuton is plausible only if the interval jumped is not too great. Assuming the exemplar also had lines of c. 25 letters and did *not* contain vv. 43, 44, these two words could have occurred at the ends of lines four lines apart. If vv. 43 and 44 were in the exemplar, the distance between these words would have been eleven or twelve lines and the explanation loses in plausibility. It looks, therefore, as though these verses were omitted in the exemplar, as they are in \aleph^a ABNRTW (13, 69, 124, 346, 713, 788, 826) 473 481 579 1071* f Sy^s Sa Bo.

5 καθευ]δοντας κοι]μωμένους: κοιμωμένους αυτους \aleph B \aleph DLT 69 346 and PSI 2, αυτους κοιμωμένους AQRWXΓΔΘAΠ a]n]er it^{er} vg Syr. Cf. Mt. xxvi. 40 = Mk. xiv. 37 αυτους καευδοντας.

7 The line is three or more letters short, but there is no MS. authority for extending the restoration to, e.g., *ειπεν αυτοις ο Ιησ* or *δια]τι* (τⁱ om. D).

10 *ετι δε* as DEHSVΓΔΘ (I owe the restoration to Prof. D. K. Aland); *ετι αυτου* cett. After *ιδου* a curving sign, meaning unknown.

11 *οχλος*] + πολυς D sy^{sc}; *Ιουδας*] + *Ισκαριωθ* D 1, και *Ιουδας ο καλούμενος Ισκαριωτης* 157.

12 α]ν]ρους, as \aleph ABDLRTXΔΘAΠ, αυτοις ΓΔ al.

13 και *εγγισας εφίλησε]ν τον Ιη]ν* is the reading of D a b (c) e ff^a i Aeth l r Sy^{sc}(v) (Bo) Arm. The]ν of *εφίλησε]ν* is very uncertainly read. All others have και *εγγισεν τω Ιησοφ φιλησαι αυτον*, to which DEHXΘ 7 fam. 13 al. b c Syr^{sc} add *τοϋτο γαρ σημειον δεδωκει αυτοις ον αν φιλησω αυτος εστιν*.

14 *Ιησ δε* \aleph BLTX 157 (or *ο δε Ιησ* ADRΓΔΘAΠ) *ειπεν αυτω* (τ^ω D) *Ιουδα* (om. \aleph^* , suppl. \aleph^c).

15] αν[τ]ω ε]πεν (the unanimous MSS. reading of v. 56) is very uncertainly read. *ιδων αυτον εφη* is the nearly unanimous (*ειπεν το αυτο* D Syr^{cur}) MSS. reading here. If *ειπεν* was followed by *και αυ εξ αυτων ελ* as in MSS. (except D Syr^{cur}), the line was unusually long.

16 δ δὲ with D (a) b ff² i l g Sy^a; δ δὲ Πέτρος cett. εἶπεν with ADWXIΔΘΨ, ἔφη NBKLMΤΠ.
 17 διασάσης: διασσησας D. ἄρας+μῆς cett.; ἄλλος+τις cett. ἰσχυρίζετο 69 472 579; διασχυρίζετο cett.

18 λέγων ἐπ' ἀληθείας: D has ἐπ' ἀληθείας λέγω.

19 οὗτος ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ: οὗτος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦν cett. (ἦν om. K* al., suppl. K^a).

21 ὁ λέγεις plerique, τί λέγεις KD al. παραχρήμα before εἶτι cett. αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος as U 1 al. λαλ. αὐτοῦ cett. (λαλ. τοῦ Πέτρου KMTI al.).

23-24 καὶ στραφείς (D Sah στραφείς δὲ) ὁ κύριος (δ ις D 1 22 106 124* 131 al.) ἐπέβλεψεν τῷ Πέτρῳ, cett. 029 has δ Πέτρος κε instead of κύριος or ἰησῦς. The papyrus reading is idiosyncratic. The reading Πιττ[ος] can hardly be doubted, for the π is clear even though the later letters are only partially preserved. Assuming ἐπέβλεψεν is to be restored, the interpretation must be 'Peter turned and looked at it' (the cock). Just possibly the scribe has omitted by haplography part of a longer formulation such as στραφείς ὁ Πέτρος ἐπέβλεψε τῷ κῶ καὶ ὁ κῆς ἐπέβλεψεν αὐτῷ, but τῷ Πέτρῳ would be expected at the end.

25 τότε: καὶ ὑπεμνήσθη cett.

26 βήματος as NBLTX 4 124 al., λόγου ADΓΔΘΑΠΙ. κῶ]; or ἰησῦ as N fam. 13 472.

27 αὐτῷ πρὶν as D it^{pl}er, add ὅτι before πρὶν cett.

27-28 φωνῆσαι σήμερον NBKLMΤΧΠI b ff^a l, φωνῆσαι alone ADWΓΔΘΑΨ fam. 1 N U it^{pl}er Sah Syr^{cur} pesh. Of the μ of [σῆ]μ[ερον] the upper blobs of both verticals remain, and the reading is fairly secure. It is not π (i.e. [φωνῆσαι ἀ]π[αρνήση]).

2384. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW xi, xii

3.7 × 3.5 cm.

Third/fourth Century.

This tiny scrap of a papyrus book offers on the verso a few words from the beginnings of lines of Matthew xi 26-27, and on the recto from the ends of lines of xii 4-5. There are one or two points of textual interest. The scribe, writing in a black carbon ink, makes medium to large upright, squarish letters in an informal but fastidious manner. Horizontal strokes are fine, the verticals tend to be rounded, ε is narrow, ο tiny and, like ω, usually on the line, below which the tail of ν, ρ, τ extends. The hand may be compared with that of 847 and 1224 and assigned to the late third or early fourth century. There is one example (l. 4 πῆρ) of a *nomen sacrum*, though others are required for restoration. The length of line varies between 21 and 25 letters (usually 23). About 500 letters are missing between the end of the verso and beginning of the recto, that is about 22 or 23 lines. A single column of 28 to 29 lines would have been about 14 cm. high, to which, no doubt, ample margins should be added. The papyrus has been assigned the number p 70.

Verso

[εμ]προσ[θεν σου πάντα μοι παρε- xi 26, 27
 δοθη ὑ[πο του πρς μου και ου-
 δεις γ[ινωσκει τον υιον ει μη
 ο πηρ [ουδε τον πρα τις επιγι-
 5 κωσκ[ει

2384. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW XI, XII

Recto

καὶ τοὺς] ἀρ- xii 4
 τοὺς τῆς προθεσεως ἐ]φαγεν ο
 ουκ ἐξον ἠν αὐτω φαγ]ειν ουδε
 τοὺς μετ αὐτου ει μη το]ις ἱερευ-
 10 σιν μονοις η ουκ ανεγ]νωτε εν
 τω νομω οτι εν τῷ σαββ]ατῳ [.. 5

3 γ[ινώσκει: in l. 4 *infra*, however, the line will be short unless [ἐπιγι]νώσκ[ει] is restored. ἐπιγι-
 νώσκει twice cett. (except 71 692 γινώσκει twice acc. to Legg). Clemens Alex. quotes as γινώσκει in
 Strom. vii 18, 109 but ἐπιγινώσκει in QDS 8.

7 ἔφαγεν with the majority of uncials and minuscules: ἔφαγον NB 481. δ gives a better line divi-
 sion than ο[υς]. For δ BDW 22 fam. 13 543 d ff² k q aur Sy^c pesh Aeth Arm; ο[υς] remaining uncials,
 most minuscules (a) b c f ff¹ g¹ h l vg Syr^{hi} Cop^{sa} b^o Geo Or.

11 ἐν τῷ σαββ]ατῳ: τοῖς σάββασιν cett. (ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν CDW 21 157 399 945 990 1010 1207 1223
 1293 1354 148 d).

2385. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW XIX

5.0 × 9.5 cm.

Fourth century.

Papyrus codex, preserving parts of five lines from the foot of a column, on the recto of Matthew xix 10-11, on the verso of xix 17-18. In so far as can be observed from so small a sample the text is close to that of the Vaticanus. In handwriting, too, the papyrus is not unlike the Vaticanus. The scribe, using an ink that has now turned brown, writes a largish round uncial with some pretensions to style. A certain informality, however, appears in the lightness of the hand, in the absence of terminal dots (e.g. on the cross-bars of the ε), and in the different sizes of the letters. The same letter is made now small, now larger (e.g. σ, the length of the cross-bar of τ) and there are marked variations between different letters (note the small γ). The papyrus should probably be assigned to the fourth century rather than the fifth. A rougher example of the same kind of hand in a theological text is to be seen in 1600, assigned by its editors to the fifth century. No *nomen sacrum* is found in the surviving portions, but ἀποῦ seems to be required for restoration of l. 3. The length of line on the verso is between 16 and 19 letters, on the recto between 19 and 24 (but cf. l. 1 n.). About 550 letters are missing between the end of the recto and beginning of the verso, say 26-27 lines, which would give a column totalling 31-32 lines, if we assume these to be successive columns. The papyrus has been assigned the number p 71.

	Recto	
	
	[λε-]	xix 10
	[γο]υ[σιν] αυ[τω] οι μα[θηται]	
	ει ουτως εστιν αιτια το[υ] ανου	
	[μετα τ]ης γυναικος [ου συμ-	
5	[φε]ρ[ει] γαμησαι ο δε [ειπεν	ix 11
	[αυ]τοις ου παντες χω[ρουσιν]	
	Verso	
	[ει δε] | θ[ε]λεις εις την ζωην	xix 17
	εισελθειν τηρει [τας εν-	
	τολας λεγει αυτ[ω] ποιας	ix 18
10	ο δε εφη το ου φ[ονευ-	
	σης ου μοιχευσει[s]	

1 It is not easy to reconstruct the line arrangement on the recto. *ει* in l. 3 appears to start a line, for any preceding letter should be visible. Taking the mean length of line on the recto to be 20 or 21 letters (longer than on the verso), and assuming that all the lines were of equal length, one has the choice of making l. 3 (*a*) extend much farther to the right than the remainder, (*b*) be inset, (*c*) project into the left-hand margin. There are other difficulties: in (*a*), for example, there is not space to restore *πεν* of *ειπεν* before *αυτοις* in l. 6; and in (*b*), apart from the lack of palaeographical parallels for such *εισθεσις*, it ought to be possible to see some additional letters at the opening of l. 2. (*c*) gives the easiest reconstruction and has been adopted. Possibly the *εισθεσις* is due to the beginning of the reported speech being regarded as the first important words of the new section which began at *λεγουσι* v. 10 (so marked in *BCDWO*). One might have expected such an *εισθεσις* to begin at *λεγουσι* itself (as in *DΘ*). *C* projects the *a* of *αυτῶ*, on the principle of projecting the first letter of the first complete line after the section, a principle apparently used also in *P. Magd.* p 64 (*C. H. Roberts, ITR* xlvii (1953), pp. 233 seqq.).

2 *οι μαθηται* *BCD* c *Π' γ' Κορ^{mh}*; *οι μαθηται αυτου* cett. For reasons of space almost certain that papyrus had the former.

3 *η αιτια* cett. The omission of *η* is due to haplography and confusion with preceding *υ*.

8 *τηρει*, for space reasons, with *BD* 565; *τηρησον* cett.

10 *ο δε* as *F* fam. 13 (exc. 60) 443 517 1093 1424 c *Sa*: *ο δε 'Ιησοϋς*, cett. *εφη*, as *B* fam. 13 543: *ειπεν* cett. After *το* an empty space, which is probably merely a fault in the papyrus avoided by the scribe.

11 *ι. φονευσεις*.

2386. PSALMS 83(84)-84(85)

13.5 × 12.5 cm.

Fourth or fifth century.

Fragment of a papyrus roll containing on the recto the end of Psalm 83 (84) and the beginning of 84 (85). On the verso (in a different hand and upside down in relation to the recto) are a few letters from three lines, perhaps part of a private letter. The writing on the recto is in fairly large, squarish letters which have a slight slope to the right in a style midway between a formal and a cursive hand. Other representatives

of the style are 1078 which is assigned to the fourth century and 1603 which is assigned to the sixth. This text should probably be placed in the fourth or fifth century. The psalms are not written stichometrically as in 1226, but the ends of *στιχοι* are shown by two oblique strokes. A line drawn right across the column separates one psalm from the next. *Nomina sacra* are *θυ* l. 7, *θς* l. 9 (but the hybrid *θεος* l. 3), *κε* ll. 11, 13, *χ[ου]* l. 4. The text, which is in general free from errors and sides twice with *B*, three times (probably) with *NA(R)T*, has been collated with that of H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge 1891). It has been assigned Rahlfs number 2070.

	[δυνα][μewν εισακουσον τη]ς προσευχης μ[ου]	83 (84) 9
	ενωτισαι ο <i>θς</i> <i>Ιακ</i> [ωβ] / <i>διαψ</i> [α(λμα)] [
	<i>υπε</i>]ρ[ασπιστα ημω]ν <i>ιδε</i> ο <i>θεος</i> [	10
	<i>και</i>] <i>επιβλε</i> [ψον επι] το προσωπον του <i>χ[ου]</i> σου //	
5	<i>ο</i>]τι κρισων ημ[ερα] μια εν ταις αυ[λ]αις σ[ου]	11
	<i>υ</i>]περ <i>χιλιαδας</i> // <i>εξελεξαμη</i> [ν] <i>παρ</i> [αριπ-	
	<i>τε</i>]σθαι εν τω οικω του <i>θυ</i> μου // <i>μαλ</i> [λον η οικειν	
	εν σ]κηνωμασιν αμαρτωλω[ν] // <i>ο</i>]τι [ελεον και αλη-	12
	<i>θεια</i>]ν αγαπα <i>κς</i> // ο <i>θς</i> <i>χαρ</i> [ω και δοξαν δωσι	
10	<i>κς</i> ου]χ υστερησι τα αγαθα του[ς πορευομενους	13
	εν <i>ακα</i>]κια // <i>κε</i> των δυναμ[εων μακαριος ο	
	<i>ανθρωπ</i>]ο[ς ο] <i>ελπιζων επι σε</i> //	
	. . <i>ευδοκησα</i>]ς <i>κε την γη</i> [ν σου	84 (85) 1
]. . [

2 om. *διάφαλα* AT.

4 *επ*]ι: *εις* T.

5 *κρισων*, the *σ* probably added by first hand. *κρεισσω* B* (*κρεισων* B^b? c? [?R]), *κρυσσων* A(?R)T. 6-7 *παρ*[αριπτεσθαι] B, *παρ*[αριπτεσθαι] *NA(R)T*. *θεου μου*: so *NC^a,^a AT*, *κυριου R*; *μου* om. B. After *οικειν* add. *με NC^a,^a RT*.

8 *εν σκηνωμασιν* *NC^a,^c ART*, *επι σ*. B.

9 *κς* //: the stichometry is that of *NC^a*. *NC^a,^a B* divided after ο *θς*, T pointed after *κς* l. 10.

10 *ου]χ υστερησι* (l. *υστερησει*): ο *στερησει* B^b, *ου στερησει* *NC^a,^a T*.

11 *κς*: add. *ο θς NC^a,^a RT*.

12 The end of the line, amounting to between 10 and 14 letters, could have contained a stichometrical note, or an abbreviated colophon; but there is not room for the full title of this psalm, *εις το τέλος υπερ των ληνων. τοις υιοις Κόρε ψαλμός*, or even a half-title. *P. Lit. Lond.* 208 offers a colophon at the end of each psalm, with the number at the beginning; 1352 puts number and title at the beginning. In this text it is probable that the numbers stood at the beginning, cf. next line.

13 The restoration *ευδοκησα]ς* is two letters too short. It is probable, therefore, that the number *πδ* preceded.

14 The traces are too slight for identification, but could perhaps be reconciled with *[την αιχμαλωσιαν Ια]κωβ*.

NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

2387. ALCMAN, Παρθένια

Verses in which the dialect, or rather dialectal mixture, including vocabulary and accentuation, the metre, and, so far as it can be grasped, the content are so well in accord with what we can ourselves observe or are told about the poetry of Alcman, are naturally attributed to that author and I do not expect anybody to quarrel with the attribution to him of the following fragments, although there is no coincidence with anything of which his authorship is assured and although it seems that even in antiquity there was some doubt or a doubt of some sort attaching to at least part of what is preserved in this manuscript. Moreover, since he is credited with *παρθέν(ε)ια* (Steph. Byz. in *Ἐρμολογία*, Plut. *Mor.* 1136 F, 2389 fr. 9 i 9), it is not rash to suppose that fr. 1 and 3 belonged to them.¹ The speaker in both these fragments, like the speaker in the Louvre piece, seems to be a female member of the chorus and, in fr. 3, to be singing the praises of another member of the chorus.

The metrical structure of the piece contained in fr. 1 and 3 can be established with fair certainty. Like the Louvre parthenion, it was a monostrophic composition, the unit in this instance consisting of nine lines. Enough of the papyrus is preserved to show that it was subdivided, with what authority I do not know, by paragraphi at every third line, every ninth being marked by a coronis as well. Partly by direct observation, partly by reasonable inference, the following scheme is arrived at:

1	- 0 0 - 0 0 - 0 0 - 0 0
2	- 0 [-] 0 - 0 - 0 h
3	- 0 - - - 0 - 0
4	- 0 - 0 - 0 -
5	- - 0 0 - 0 | - 0 - 0 -
6	- [] 0 -
7	- 0 0 - 0 0 - 0 0 - 0 0
8	- 0 0 - 0 0 - 0 0 - 0 0
9	- 0 0 - 0 0 - | 0 - 0 - -

On these lines the following observations may be made. The first, seventh, and eighth are the same as the thirteenth of the stanza of the Louvre parthenion, but whereas there the last short is always either a short open syllable followed at the beginning of the next line by a single consonant or a short closed syllable followed by

¹ The ancient references to the arrangement of Alcman's poems are full of ambiguities which I cannot resolve and this is not in any case the place to discuss. As a working hypothesis I should assume five books with the general title *Μέλη*, of which one, perhaps the first, contained the *παρθένια ἄσματα*, and a sixth called *Κολυμβώσαι*, containing perhaps only one piece. But this is an unverifiable guess.

a vowel, here we also find a long open syllable followed by a vowel (*ποτιδέρκεται | οὐδ'* fr. 3 ii 2 seq., *λάβοι | αἰψα* ibid. 20 seq., and therefore presumably *ἀμειβεταῖ* ibid. 4, *φίλοι* ibid. 19. Other hiatus, like irrationality, is not found.¹

There is no discernible example of a spondee's standing for a dactyl in the first line of any stanza (which is not to say it might not have occurred or might not be admissible), but this substitution is found in the seventh and eighth lines, in fr. 3 ii 2 in place of the first dactyl, ibid. 19 in place of the second, ibid. 20 in place of the third. It is not certain whether in fr. 3 ii 19 it did not occur in place of the third as well as of the second. In the Louvre parthenion it occurs twice, both times in place of the first dactyl, but both times a proper name is involved.

The second, third, and fourth lines, trochaic dimeters, the last catalectic, are also used in the stanza of the Louvre parthenion. The acatalectic occur together, in the eleventh and twelfth, as they do here, but with the difference that there there is elision between them (col. i 18 seq.), in our piece hiatus (fr. 3 ii 5 seq.); the catalectic separately, in the first, third, fifth, and seventh. Resolution occurs twice in the Louvre parthenion, coll. i 2, ii 22, not at all in 2387.

In the three examples preserved the fifth line has a break after the sixth syllable, but I am not certain whether this is fortuitous or significant, since the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth lines of the Louvre parthenion stanza, which differ only in having one trochaic metre instead of two, show a good percentage of word-endings after the fourth syllable, which can hardly be significant, but might have appeared so, if that piece had been no better preserved than this.

The ninth line, the so-called *ἐγκωμιολογικόν*, does not survive elsewhere in the remains of Alcman; the corresponding last verse of the Louvre parthenion stanza is - 0 0 - 0 0 - 0 0 - in the first three and the seventh instances, - 0 0 - 0 0 - - in the fourth, fifth, and sixth.

The text is written in a highly stylized upright uncial which has affinities with 1790 and may be assigned to the latter part of the first century B.C. or the earlier of the first century A.D. To judge by the perceptible difference in thickness of stroke the lection signs proceed from at least two hands, one of them possibly that of the copyist. Not less than three, and perhaps as many as five, different hands may be recognized in the marginal and interlinear additions. The note at the top of fr. 1 may well belong to the first century A.D., the two in different hands in the margin of fr. 3 i may likewise be about contemporary.

¹ Unless it occurred in fr. 1, 6.

Fr. 1

]
]
]τα[] 1
]αρενγβε[. . .]ιαντιγρ^υ αυτη 2
]εμπτωι . κ . εγκει . ι . 3
]αρη περιεγεγρ^β ενδετωιπτο^λ 4
] απερ[.]γρ ην 5
]
]
]υμπιαδεςπεριμεφρενας
]σαιιδας
]ωδακούσαι φ[
]ασοπος
 5] . ρακᾶλον^η ὑμνιοιζᾶνμελος
] . οι
]πογλεφαρωνκε[. . .]εβλυκυν
]σδεμα . ειπεδαγω . [] ἴμεν
] . ιστακο . [. . .] ανθαντιναξω .
 10] . χλ[] . λουπο . . . ε

Fr. 2

]αν[
] [
]η[[

Fr. 1 3 marg. After ι two or three cursive letters, beyond which the upper right-hand arc of a circle or an upright with a circumflex above and to left 5] . . . four traces on a single fibre. Presumably ν 8 Between α and ϵ a dot, nearer to α , level with the tops of the letters. The α uncertain. After ω the upper part of a stroke descending with a slight slope to right. Presumably ι 9] . . on the line the end of a stroke descending from left 10] . . the top of a circle.

Fr. 2 might, to judge by its appearance, belong to the neighbourhood of the lower right-hand side of fr. 1 3]η, only the upper part of the right-hand upright.

Fr. 1

]τα[
 π]αρεγγρα() ἐν[. . .]ις ἀντιγρά(φοις) αὐτη
]πέμπτωι . καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳι
 ἐν . . τῷι]Ἄρ(ιστο)νί(κου) περιεγέγρα(πτο) ἐν δὲ τῷι Πτολ(εμαίου)
 ἀπερ[ί]γρα(πτος) ἦν.

1 'Ολ]υμπιάδες περί με φρένας
 2]ς αἰιδας
 3]ωδ' ἀκούσαι
 4]ας ὀπός
 5] . . ρα καλὸν ὑμνιοιζᾶν μέλος 5
 6] . οι
 7]πὸ γλεφάρων κεδ[α]σει γλυκύν
 8]σδεμα . ειπεδαγῶ . ἴμεν
 9] . ιστα κόμ[αν ξ]ανθὰν τινάξω,
 10] . χλ[ἀπ]αλοὶ πόδες 10

Fr. 1 marg. The note, written in what is prima facie the upper margin of the roll and presumably referring to something below itself, is susceptible of an interpretation which may be considered reasonably likely in general terms, but there remain ambiguities of detail which deprive it of much of its value. 'This . . . is wrongly inserted in . . . copies in the fifth (book) . . . and in that (book) it was bracketed in Aristonicus' copy, but was not bracketed in Ptolemy's.' On this the following remarks may be made:

παρεγγρα(): I suppose παρεγγρά(φεται), but the precise form is not of consequence. The word is certainly sometimes, and perhaps generally, used to imply spuriousness in what is inserted (e.g. Strabo 394), but here I am disposed to believe that not authenticity but correct location is in question. "This" is found both in this book and in the fifth, it is wrongly inserted in one of these places, Aristonicus' copy but not Ptolemy's marks it for omission in the fifth; if this is the sense, presumably Aristonicus thought it correctly situated in this place, Ptolemy in the other. Neither completely rejected it.

ἐν[. . .]ις: though there is some uncertainty about the exact amount of space between ν and ι , which are on different pieces of papyrus, I think it is safe to say that ἐν ἐνίοις is ruled out and that ἐν τοῖς is probable. What 'copies' are meant? I suppose it is likeliest that they are the two referred to, that of Aristonicus and that of Ptolemy. For the use of two 'copies'—for us I think it would be more accurate to call them 'exemplars'—by a scribe cf. 1174-5 οὕτως ἦν μόνον ἐν τῷι Θέωνος, οὕτως ἦν μόνον ἐν ἐτέρῳι and see T. W. Allen, *Papers Brit. Sch. Rome* v 76 seqq.

αὐτη: the two likeliest feminines are ὠιδή and τροφή. I have thought of no plausible argument in favour of one against the other. It does not look as if the actual mention of the noun, whatever it was, could have been dispensed with.

πέμπτωι: in accordance with normal usage this can only mean 'in the fifth book'. Since this MS. must therefore represent some book other than the fifth and the note is *here*, I must suppose that

'also in the fifth book' was written. But how to supplement l. 4, if alinement on the left is to be kept with as much as ἡ ἀιδῆ (or τροφή) κἄν (τῶν) in l. 3, I do not see.

There is a faint trace at a more than normal interval after πέμπτοι and a still wider interval before καί; if a letter, a suspended letter or two may have disappeared in a gap and stripped area above it, but nothing essential seems to be wanting and I have no explanation of the phenomenon to offer.

ἐν δὲ τῶν Ἱπτολ(εμαίου) suggests a preceding ἐν μὲν τῶν Ἀριστοτύκτου and no more seems to be required, but I do not think that this supplement would aline on the left with even the shortest of the supplements of the previous line proposed above. It must, however, be remembered that marginal notes are not always written on one alinement, though there is generally, I believe, an explanation of irregularity to be found in avoidance of the text, which is not a consideration that could have entered here.

That ἀρΝ is to be extended as Ἀριστόνικος, not as has been proposed at other occurrences Ἀριστοφάνης, is shown by what is presumably an alternative representation of the same name, ἀρν', found elsewhere.

An Aristonicus and a Ptolemy who were father and son are known from Athen. 481 d, Schol. *Il.* iv 423, and Suidas (who inverts the relationship). If these two are meant, this is the only record of their having concerned themselves with Aleman, unless Aristonicus is to be recognized in either or both of ἀριστ^ο and ἀρ^η . . . in the margins of the Louvre parthenion opposite cols. i 32, iii 27.

(I have no precise idea what was meant by 'X's copy'. Was X the writer, the owner, the annotator? But this is a problem not peculiar to this passage and can be discussed only in a wider connexion.)

1-10 correspond metrically to fr. 3 ii 4-13, 13-22. It is therefore deducible that the first verse is the first of a strophe and I do not think it will be doubted that it is the first of a poem, presumably the same poem as that in fr. 3. This is the reason for locating fr. 1 on the left of fr. 3; there is no external evidence about its place in the roll. At least one column is lost between them; if only one, it is represented by fr. 3 i.

1 Ὀλυμπιάδες is naturally taken to refer to the Muses. I suppose it to be most probably a vocative.

1 seq. περὶ με φέροντες < >: apparently something like 'surround my senses with songs' (or 'the sound of song'). The Homeric analogues have either the form: object--περὶ φέροντες--simple verb (cf. particularly *Il.* x 130), or the form: object 'whole and part'--compound verb. The order found here, if it is not simply an innovation, might be explained either by the impossibility of beginning the sentence with με, if Ὀλυμπιάδες is a vocative, or by supposing περὶ to be *in mesē*.

3 seqq. I should guess ἦω to be the representative of a first person singular present indicative and the sense to be: ἡμεῖς]ω δ' ἀκούομεν . . . ὅπως . . . ὕμνοισιν μέλοσ. It may be worth while to draw attention to παρθενῆτας ὅπως in Pind. fr. 333 (a) 14. In any case, I take ὕμνοισιν to refer to the girls of the chorus, not the Muses.

3 ἀκούομεν: infinitive, the accent as in ἀμύναι Louvre parth. col. ii 31.

3 marg. I cannot be certain that the nearer note was not ῥε, as at fr. 3 ii 19, but, if so, it was much less carefully written.

5 κἄλον, if this is to be recognized, is apparently in opposition to instances of κἄλ- in Alem. frs. 65, 97, and presumably 35; καλλά, 98, guaranteed by Apoll. Dysc. π. ἐπιρρ. 565, may be of a different nature. Though the evidence is sparse, there is little doubt that the loss of ρ from the combination short vowel-consonant-ρ was not normally followed in Aleman's dialect by compensatory lengthening of the vowel and that κἄλον would have to be regarded, like γῶνατα, δῆρι, fr. 30, 68, as a borrowing from another source.

ὕμνοισιν: in the text of Aleman the ending of the feminine participle is regularly exhibited as -οισα, before which the change of ε to ι (though it is not the invariable treatment of ε before a vowel) is as expected. I have no exact parallel to the synepiphonesis of ι in such forms from Aleman himself, the nearest comparable being ἔσο-, εἴσι (Louvre parth. col. iii 1, 30), but the first word of Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 1148 provides one. The metrical value of the combination is not elsewhere apparent.

On πλεῖστα fr. 3 ii 5 see the note there.

7 Soph. *Trach.* 989 κεδάσαι τῶνδ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βλεφάρων θ' ὕπνον puts into one's head ὕπνον ἀπὸ γλεφάρων κεδάσει γλυκύν, 'will waken', said, I suppose, of the noise made by the singers.

Note κεδάσει but τινάξω, i.e. prima facie, τινάξω. Similarly φάσεις but παρήγομος (Louvre parth. cols. iii 5, i 12).

8 πεδ' ἀγῶν' ἔμεν 'to join the gathering', for which there are Homeric models, would suit, but I am doubtful how to articulate the preceding letters.]ε δέ μ' ἀγει is to hand, but I find no example of ἀγειν with a dependent infinitive earlier than Eur. *Hec.* 43.

9 ἐνθα μάλιστα seems indicated, though neither 'whereabout' nor 'precisely where' is a very attractive sense.

κόμαν ξανθάν: cf. Louvre parth. col. iii last v. ξανθαὶ κομίσκαι.

Col. i	Fr. 3 Col. ii	Col. iii
]]	/ λυσιμελειτεπόσωιτ...ρωτερα	ι[
] λος·	δ' ὑπνωκαὶ θάνατωι πο...δερκεται·	ο[
]]	οὐδε τι μαιιδίως γλυκ...ήνα·	μ[
] ρουραψυχρα	α[...]. ὑμέλοισαδέμ' ουδεναιμειβεται	μ[
] α ^{απαρχε} _{πε}	[...]. νυλεων' εχοισα[]	εί.[5
] .α·	[...]. τι...υλα[...]. τοσαστη.[]	όν.[
]]	ωρανωδιαιπετης	εῦ.[
	] ηχυσιονερνοσηαπαλ.[...]. ον	ὀλιε[
	...ν	οσσάμ[
	] διεβᾶταναοίπο[...]	ἀλλα.[10
	] ομονοτιᾶκινύραχ[...]. ις	εσδε.[
	] αρσενικᾶν χαίταιςινιδει·	β[...]. με.[
	] εστυμέλοισακαταστρατον	...]. κεε[
	] ελημαδάμωι	...]. εε[
	] ανελοισα	[15
	] λεγω·	[
	] εναβαλ' α[...]. γαράργυριν	[
	] .[...]. ἰα	[
	] αἰδομ' αἰπωςμε...ορφιλοι μ	.[
	] εδ' [...]. σαπαλαεχηροελάβοι·	δ[20
	] αμφαικ[...]. ετικηναεγενοιμαν·	.[
	] νονδ' [...]. δαπαίδαβα[...]. υφρονα	ε[
	] παιδι.[...]. μεχοισαν	εί[
	] .ε[...]. νῆπαλε	κ.[
	] χαριν·	ιςτη[25
		] οἰδε[
		] ευδε[
		] .τ[

Fr. 3 Col. ii	Col. ii
7 λυσιμελει τε πόσωι, τακερώτερα	
8 δ' ὑπνω καὶ κανάτω ποτιδέρκεται,	
9 οὐδέ τι μαιιδίως γλυκ...ήνα.	
1 Ἀ[ε]τυμέλοισα δέ μ' οὐδέν ἀμείβεται	
2] νυλεων' εχοισα	5
3 [ε] τις αἰγλά[ε]ντος ἀστήρ	
4 ὠρανῶ δισαιπετής	
5 ἢ χρύσιον ἔρνος ἢ ἀπαλό[ν ψιλ]ον	
6 ...ν	
7 ...]. διεβᾶ ταναοίς πο[ε]	10
8] ομο νοτία Κινύρα χ[άρ]ις	
9 ἐπὶ π]αρσενικᾶν χαίταιςιν ἴσδει,	
1 Ἀ]ετυμέλοισα κατὰ στρατόν	
2] μέλημα δάμωι	
3 ...] μαν ελοισα	15
4 ...] λέγω·	
5] εναβαλ' α[ε] γὰρ ἄργυριν	
6 ...]. [...]. ἰα	
7 ...] α ἴδομ' αἰ πως με...ον φίλοι	
8] εο' [...]. ε ἀπαλαε χηρός λάβοι,	20
9 αἰψα κ[...]. ετικηναε γενοίμαν.	
1 νον δ' [...]. δα παίδα βα[θ]ύφρονα	
2 παιδι.[...]. μ' εχοισαν	
3 ...]. ε[...]. ν ἄ παλε	
4 ...] χάριν	25

Fr. 3 Col. ii 3 There would be room for three letters between κ and η, but I see traces only of two, which must therefore both be vowels, the first long, the second short 12 Unexplained ink over the first ν 19 To right of the trema a dot of ink; if the lower end of an acute, out of position Between ε and ο a hook on the line, as of ε, followed by the foot of an upright with a serif to left 20 See comm. 1 21 Below the foot of an upright [], if the preceding or following letter was broad, no letter is missing]; the lower part of an upright 21], the upper end of a stroke rising to right, perhaps κ or χ 22 marg. See comm. 23 [, a dot level with the top of the letters 24], the top of an upright], the top of an upright Col. iii 5 [, the start of a stroke ascending to right 6 [, a dot slightly higher than the tops of the letters 7 [, the start of a stroke ascending to right 11 [, two strokes at an angle,

perhaps the lower part of λ 12, a dot slightly above the level of the letters, presumably α
 .[, the upper left-hand arc of a circle 14], the apex of α, δ, λ 19 .[, the start of a stroke
 rising to right 21 .[, the left-hand side of γ or π 24 .[, the start of a stroke rising to right
 28]... rubbed; possibly ευ

Fr. 3 If it is assumed that col. iii belongs to the same composition as col. ii—it is prima facie
 in the same stanza—and that this composition begins in fr. 1, it can be calculated that it contained
 not less than 126 verses. It can be similarly calculated that the Louvre parthenion contained not
 less than 112. For neither can any upper limit be arrived at.

Col. i 4 κ]ρουερά· ψυχρά: cf. Hesych. in κρουερήν.

Col. ii 1 λυσιμελής . . . πόθος Archil. fr. 85.

1 seq. τακερά δερκόμενος Ibyc. fr. 2.

For the 'softness' of sleep see Headlam-Knox on Herodas vi 71.

3 Or οὐδ' ἔτι. There appears to be no verb, so that a nominal phrase must be postulated. I can
 make no plausible guess at its contents. I cannot read either γλυκῆα or κήνα.

The coronis between this and the next line was omitted by the writer of the text and has been
 supplied by another hand. I have noticed in two independent papyri, each time against a coronis,
 οὐκ ἦν κορωνίς and οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ. See 2291 col. ii 2 note.

4 ἀμείβεται, but ἀμευαί fr. 11, 4. Aristophanes the grammarian seems to have supposed that
 ἀμυν- also could occur for ἀμειψ-, to judge by Eustath. 546, 29. Schol. I. II. v 266 (with a corrupt
 quotation of Louvre parth. col. ii 31).

5 [ἀλλ(ά) . . .]? The verb seems to come at l. 10, δίδβα, but I cannot explain the variations of
 tense.

πυλαῶν: since both the thing and the name are Spartan (Athen. 678 a, 681 a), it is a puzzle why
 the vocalization and metrical value are characteristically Ionic. In the quotation Alcman fr. 16 as
 here antevocalic ε is recorded instead of the expected ι.

6 [ω] is indicated by the spacing, but not to the exclusion of α, and I have preferred it only as
 being nearer to the rest of the παρίδοις, though it does not exactly coincide with it; ὄστε, fr. 18, 4
 below, ω[[i]]r, Louvre parth. col. ii 7, ὄσπερ ibid. 12, [ω]c ibid. 20. Neither obviates the hiatus with
 the elidable vowel at the end of l. 5.

αἰγλάεντος: 'Ολύμπου Homeric, ὄρναος not hitherto before Apollonius Rhodius.

7 διαπετής apparently ὅστις διαπέττει (διαπέτει διὰ τῆς πόδαωσ . . . καὶ τοῦ χάμου Aristoph. Av.
 1217). διαπετής is not attested in this sense and, though ὄπαι-, καται-, παραι- occur in composition, δια-
 does not, unless it is implied by Pindar's διαβόλαιον, Pynth. ii 76.

The construction as in οἴκων . . . ὑπερτελής Eur. Ion 1549.

8 ἡ ἀπαλον: instances of the synecphoresis of a long followed by a short syllable are by no means
 common and are graphically represented in different ways, e.g. ἡ ὄτ', as here, Pind. Isthm. vii. 8, 9;
 ἡπειρα 2165 fr. 1 i 19; ἡμ (i.e. ἡ (ε)μ) B.M. 128 at II. xxiii 724.

ψίλον: i.e. πτίλον, 'down'; Pausan. iii 19, 6 ψίλα καλοῦσθαι οἱ Λαωρεῖς τὰ πτερί. Hence ψιλόψιλος,
 Alcman fr. 152 (wrongly marked ψι in I.S.J.), ψιλωος Sosibius ap. Athen. 678 b, and other derivatives
 and compounds, for which see Hesych. and particularly Schmidt's note on ψιλάς.

11 seq. 'The moist charm of Cinyras' which 'has its seat on maidens' hair' may refer to some kind
 of Cyprian hair-oil. Cyprus, of which Cinyras was a legendary king famous for his wealth, produced,
 according to Pliny, H.N. xiii 5 et al., the highest quality of certain scents. I should add that I have
 considered the adjective κυνορά, but I do not see how 'making a plaintive noise' could be apposite
 here.

ἔδει: for the representation of ζ as εδ in Alcman see Page, Alcman, pp. 143 seqq.

14 μέλημα δάμοι looks like an interpretation of Ἐρυμέλεια conceived of as ἀεταί μέλεια. The
 similar Ἐρυμέδων would be apt to lead to the conceiving of it as ἀεταί μέλεια.

17 βάλε (or δβάλε) might be thought of, as βάλε δῆ, βάλε . . . εἶην Alcman fr. 26, ἀβάλε fr. 112 Diehl,
 and αἰ γάρ, expressing a wish, as αἰ γάρ . . . εἶη, μέλοι Alcman fr. 29, 77. But the expression would be
 tautologous and I am doubtful whether the tautology could be justified by adducing the common
 combination of εἶθε, εἰ γάρ with persons of ὠφέλιον. But I see no certainty that βαλ' is not an aorist
 imperative or even indicative and that αἰ γάρ is not 'for if'.

ἄργυρον: accusatives in -ω corresponding to -ῆα were regarded by ancient grammatical doctrine
 as characteristic of Aeolic. That view is implied by the recessive accent here. (It may be noted that
 the grammarians' examples are all words of trochaic form; perhaps πακτιν, Sappho 22, 11, should be
 added to them.)

19 If ἴδοιμ' or ἴδοι μ' is to be recognized, it is to be said that in the Louvre papyrus initial ρ is
 once written but twice (or perhaps four times) omitted at places where its metrical effect of obviating
 hiatus is observable.

Marg. Ἄρ is perhaps to be interpreted as μδ(ον, -νωσ) Π(τολεμαῖος), cf. μρ Νι(), 1174 col. iv 23.
 If this interpretation were certain, it might be thought that one of two consequences would flow from
 it: either that Ptolemy accepted this piece here as well as in Bk. v or that the question of location
 arose only in regard of one stanza and that this line was outside that stanza. But the interpretation
 is anything but certain and, in any case, I do not think the inferences necessarily follow. All that
 'peculiar to Ptolemy' need imply is that where the relative verse occurred in Ptolemy's copy it had
 some feature not in it where it occurred in Aristonicus' copy. No fresh light accrues on the hypothesis
 presented in the note on fr. 1 *marg.*

21 αἰψά κ(ε) . . . γενοίμαν 'I should straightway become' seems unavoidable, but I am uncertain
 where to find the protasis in the preceding lines and how to interpret the predicate in this. The metre
 possibly shows that a word ending occurs either at τι or at τικ, but κηνᾶς is wrongly vocalized and
 κηνᾶς wrongly accented. The nearest approach I can make to any sense is 'if she took (me?) by the
 soft hand, I should straightway become her suppliant' (ἐ[κ]έτις κήνας), and this, apart from its own
 defects, gives no account of the extremely puzzling end of l. 19 and beginning of l. 20.

I should add that the bases of the first visible letters of l. 20 (and the beginnings of ll. 21-24) are
 on a detached scrap, of which the level, guaranteed by cross-fibres, is not in doubt, but which might
 perhaps have stood a little to the left of the place I have assigned it. But the resulting relation of the
 tops and bases of the initial letters becomes no more comprehensible: . . .]ερ[!(.)]ε or . . .]ερ.![!(.)]ε

22 *marg.* Possibly ὄμ(οίωσ) or οὐ(τω), though the suspended letter is not readily to be read as
 either μ or υ.

Col. iii 8 Alcman is quoted (ap. Cyrill., Rh. Mus. 43, 451) as having used ὀκάς in the sense of
 'nightingale'.

Fr. 4.

·
 ·
]ϛ[.κ[.
]αιόλα[.
]ακομέ[
]ρανύ[
 5]ντίτ[.
]νυμφά[
]είσει[
]ρατᾶ[
]ον[.
 ·
 ·

Fr. 4 1 .[, the foot of an upright sloping slightly to right 2 After α perhaps ν, represented
 only by the lower part of the second upright .[, a dot slightly below the tops of the letters
 3 .[, the lower part of an upright, τ acceptable 4 .[, an upright 5 .[, the lower part of an
 upright sloping slightly to right 7-8 Between ε and ρ, nearer to ε, a short upright stroke 9].,
 the upper part of a stroke descending with a slight slope to right, presumably representing one of
 the triangular letters

Fr. 5

. . .
]. . [
]cāω[
]. ἄλα . [
]. ιπολ[
 5]χορη[
]. οἰ[
 . . .

Fr. 5 The appearance of the front is compatible with a connexion with fr. 3 col. iii

1 The lower parts of two uprights, one with a serif to right, the other to left 3], perhaps the tip of the upper right-hand arm of χ 4], on the line a trace of a stroke ascending to right 5 The appearance suggests γ', but π cannot be excluded, though it leaves some ink unexplained

Fr. 7

. . .
]. εναc[
]. μυχ . [
 . . .

Fr. 7 1], an upright with the tops of the letters 2], a dot level

Fr. 9

. . .
] [. . .
]. νχερ[
]. ἔωνᾶ . [
]. ανῶβ[
 5] [. . .

Fr. 9 2], traces compatible with α 3], on the line the beginning of a stroke ascending to right 4], an upright Presumably υ

Fr. 6

. . .
]. . .
] [. . .
]. . .
] [. . .
]. . .
 5] [. . .
]. . .

Fr. 6 The appearance is compatible with a position in fr. 3 col. ii

1 Traces suggesting the lower end of a coronis with the left-hand end of a paragraphus to right 3 An upright 5 The appearance suggests γ', but π cannot be excluded, though it leaves some ink unexplained

Fr. 8

. . .
]. πρε[
]. υρεετ[
 . . .

Fr. 10

. . .
]. [. . .
]. cαν[
]. α·δ[
]. oc[
 5] θον[
]. ετ[
]. ε . [
 . . .

Fr. 10 3], perhaps the end of the upper hook of ε 4], the lower right-hand tip of δ, λ or the like 7 On either side of ε an upright with a serif to right

Fr. 11

. . .
]. αφιλοπτ[
]. οντο'πή . a[
]. cτευρυστερν[
]. τοναμευca[
 5] θαδη[
]. . . [. . .

Fr. 11 1 Of τ only the lower part of the stem 2], on the line the tail of a stroke descending from left After η a trace level with the tops of the letters 3 Of ρ only the lower part of the stem

Fr. 13

. . .
]. [. . .
]. α . εμ[
]. ωπολ[
]. αδικα . . . [. . .
 5] νεπαcανα [. . .
]. κν . [. . .

Fr. 13 1 The foot of an upright 2], the lower part of an upright After α the lower left-hand arc of a circular letter and the right-hand side of a circular letter with a trace of ink to its left, εθ would be rather crushed 6 Or χ and μ 7], the upper tip of a straight stroke which might be α

Fr. 14

. . .
] [. . .
] [. . .
]. couτ[
]. [. . .] ca[
 . . .

Fr. 14 2 A trace above the line

Fr. 12

. . .
]. [. . .
] [. . .
]. ᾠcāāc[
]. . κo . [. . .
 5] [. . .
]. δόιαν[
]. ικιῶν[
]. c . [. . .
]. ναοιδ[
 . . .

Fr. 12 3 The short is written over a long by the same hand 4 κακο possible 7], the right-hand side of α or δ

Fr. 15

. . .
]. ηα[
] [. . .
]. νο[
]. ε [. . .
 5] αῖ[
 . . .

Fr. 15 3], the right-hand side of a circular letter Or ω[

Fr. 16

. . .
]. cμ[
]. ων[
]. κα[
] [. . .
 5] [. . .

Fr. 16 3], an upright

Fr. 17

. . .
].[
]τοῖσά[
]δομοικιν[
]κοτ[.].[
 5]ον[. .].α[
]δεκακισιοκ[
]. ὑγετωι.[
].[

Fr. 17 5], the upper end of a stroke rising from left to right. After υ the lower halves of two uprights; the distance of the first suggests τ, but they may both belong to one letter. Before α the feet of two uprights. 7], traces suggesting the possibility of η^λ. If the dot above υ were part of a trema, the other dot should be visible; if it is a high stop, the following letters are inexplicable.

Fr. 20

. . .
]
]
]τοτ[
]
]
]
 5]υκη[.

Fr. 20 5], α, ω, or ε

Fr. 22

. . .
].ε[.

Fr. 22], an upright with the upper part bent over to left; not ε, perhaps υ

Fr. 18

. . .
].[
]
]ε
]εσώιτε[
 5] []
] [] []

Fr. 18 1 An upright and part of a cross-stroke

Fr. 19

. . .
].[
]
]αε[
]κω[

Fr. 19 1 Probably the tail of a coronis. 3], the foot of an upright sloping slightly to right, with a trace above to left; υ likeliest, but τ not ruled out.

Fr. 21

. . .
].[
]τάμρ[
]φοιβ[
]αν[.
 5]..[

Fr. 21 1 The lower left-hand part of a circular letter. 5 Perhaps the apex of α, λ, δ, followed by the top left-hand part of ε or ρ

Fr. 23

. . .
].ιπεν[
].ορωδασια.[
]εσσαπυρος[
].πολλαδεκ[
 5]άστηκαυφ[
]ντεμαύι[.
]ν[^{7.1}

Fr. 23 1], a trace compatible with the end of the upper hook of ε or ε 2], a trace below the line close to ρ and therefore suggesting χ.], the upper part of an upright. 6 Perhaps άρ[but the cross-stroke has gone. 7 interl. Possibly τσ[

Fr. 26

. . .
].[
]εά[
]ωιδα[
]ενεω[
 5]ανδε[
].το[

Fr. 26 2], the left-hand side of a circular letter. 6], the upper part of the right-hand stroke of α, λ, δ

Fr. 28

. . .
].[
]. []
] []
]. []
 5]τό[.

Fr. 28 5], the middle of an upright

Fr. 24

. . .
]ν[
 Fr. 24 Stripped; traces of 3 more ll.

Fr. 25

. . .
]ε[
]ατραδ[
] []
]ρηια[
 5]αλευ[
]ωσα[

Fr. 25 1 Or]η. 4 The loop of ρ, unusually angular

Fr. 27

.
].[
]ωνμεγα[
]οστε[.

Fr. 29

. . .
]τάν[
]ου[

Fr. 30

. . .
].ο[
].εε[.

Fr. 30 1], an upright having a curved serif to the left below the line. 2], perhaps the thickened upper tip of the upper branch of κ or χ

Fr. 31

· ·
] [·
] [·
] [·
] [·
] .χατ[

Fr. 32

· ·
] [·
] ν [·
] [·
 · ·

Fr. 33

· ·
] [·
] . [·

Fr. 33 2],, the right-hand arc of a circle [, the apex of α, δ, or λ

Fr. 4 A paragraphus below the third line away from l. 2, under which a paragraphus is visible, should itself be visible. Barring error this scrap must be presumed to be from a different piece from that in fr. 1 and 3.

3 τακομέ[ν-

4 ἤρά νυν.

7 ἄ]εισεν. I cannot account for the trace under the first ε, but I should say it could not possibly represent a paragraphus and hardly a circumflex.

Fr. 5 5 i.e.]χ ὄρη[.

Fr. 11 2 seq. Perhaps πήρατα . . . εὐρυτέρων sc. γὰρ.

Fr. 13 5 Presumably Ἄεανᾶ (but Ἄεαλά adesp. fr. 36), or, if the division were admitted, ἄεανᾶ]τ-.

Fr. 17 7 τ]αύγε- was certainly not written.

Fr. 23 2 Perhaps εὐρυ]χόρω δ' Ἄελά[(or -ω<ι> δ' -αι), as at Pind. *Ol.* vii 18. ἀετη and Μαιδῆ[-, ll. 5 seq., would accord.

2388. ALCMAN

Although there is no way of confirming it, the attribution to Alcman of the following fragments on the strength of the dialect (including accentuation) and what can be recognized of the contents will not be disputed. μαλακά, εἰδείξαν (fr. 1, 5, 6), Κλησιμβ[ρότα (fr. 1, 9), Δυμαί[ναϊς (fr. 5, 4), C]εράπνα[(fr. 8, 4), all point in one direction. But unfortunately the identification of the author is of little practical value since nothing can be made of fragments so small and scattered.

The manuscript is written in a fine bold uncial very similar to that of P. Berl. 1970 (Wilcken, *Tafeln*, 2). It may also be compared on the one hand with 2079, than which it is larger and more upright as well as much more carefully executed, on the other with 656 v, though written with a broader point. The not very plentiful lection signs appear to be for the most part by the same hand as the text. I suppose the date to be in the second half of the second century.

Fr. 1

· ·
] . [] ναί . [·
] αλλονεραιοφ[·
] ωταδεγινετ[·
] μασταδ' ανθ[·
 5 γαρύματαμαλακά[·
 νεοχμεδίζαντερπ[·
 ποικιλαφ . [.] ρα [.] . αι * [·
 ᾶ δ' ιππεω[·
 κλησιμβ[·
 10 βῶς ᾶτεμε[·
 κλη . νβ[·
 ουδ' ᾶ [.] . ιρ[·
] . [·

Fr. 1 1] . [, the tail of ρ, φ or the like . [, the lower left-hand arc of a circular letter 2 Between α and ι a low dot, I think fortuitous 7 After φ apparently the top of a circle For] ρ perhaps β] . [, the middle part of an upright 11 After η an upright followed at an interval by the upper right-hand arc of a circle, γε, νο among the possibilities 12] . [, the tail of a stroke descending from left; μ would suit 13 The upper part of an upright

4 seqq. I should guess: θαυματὰ δ' ἀνθρώποις . . . γαρύματα μαλακά . . . νεόχμ' εἰδείξαν . . . This might have been said of Terpander. Polymnestus of Colophon was mentioned by Alcman (fr. 114). But it need hardly be said that there are nearer possibilities.

6 For 'novelty' of song cf. Alcman fr. 1, for 'display' of song cf. Alcman fr. 37.

9 seqq. Κλησιμβ[ρότα, a name like Αἰνησιμβρότα (Louvre parth. iii 5), Τιμασιμβρότα (2390 fr. ii 16), . . . Since the Attic participle ending -ουσα is regularly represented in Alcman by -οισα, it must be presumed that -βῶσα (if that is to be recognized) represents an -αιω verb. I therefore recall Κολυμβῶσαι, which Ptolemy (ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 151 a 8) and Suidas seem to say is the title of a book or poem by this poet. It may also be worth while to call attention to the mysterious μάβωσ ἐπίαζε in Alcman fr. 44. But I need hardly say there are more obvious alternatives, e.g. ἠβῶσα, as well as the possibility of a different completion and even a different articulation.

Fr. 2

δ[
 ποικ[
 καλαμ[
 ἔχθυ[
 5 τᾶνυ[
 κυκ[

Fr. 2 2 .[, a dot below the line, e.g. φ, λ, χ
 4 .[, the middle of an indeterminable stroke
 6 .[, perhaps the top of a or λ, but there are other possibilities

Fr. 4

.[
].ογο[
]ψαιφα[
]πολεμ[
 5].γ'αἰδη[
]ρωντ'α[
]ετάγ'οιδε[
].ωεδυεμ[
]ηναυτον[
 10].[.]ανο[
].γ[

Fr. 4 1 The lower left-hand arc of a circle
 2 Apparently written smaller than the rest .[,
 a dot on the line, λ possible 5 .[, the foot
 of an upright 6 .[, the tail of ρ, φ, or the
 like 8]ν or two letters].ι 10 .[, the
 top of an upright; it may form part of the letter
 next to α

5 αἰδη[λ-
 7 Presumably -]ετά γ'.

Fr. 3

.[
 ταλλοτρ[
 ροεμεν[
 ἰδμεν[
 5 οιοεῆ[
 πολυδ[

Fr. 3 1 The lower end of an upright descending to the top of τ 4 .[, the left-hand tip of a stroke level with the top of the letters

Fr. 5

.[
]αν[
]δεπ[
]λουεον[
].ωνδυμαι[
 5]ροκαμοιχα[
]δονεε
]εουδετε[
]αλπιδ[
]...κοκλετ[

Fr. 5 4 .[, a dot on the line 7 .[, the top of an upright; ρ not ruled out 9 The second letter has a horizontal top (e.g. π, τ)

3 The possibility ε for θ is to be borne in mind, as also at fr. 2, 3.
 4 seq. This recalls the line quoted from Euphorion by Steph. Byz. in *Δουμῶνες*: δαίμων < > αὐτο φιλοπολοκάμοι Δουμῶνας. The *Δούμωναι* recur at 2390 fr. 2 ii 25, 2380 fr. 35 i.
 8 ε]άλπιδ, an unattested spelling.

Fr. 6

]ξύναξ[
]χοραγοι[
].ι[
] [
 5] [
]οε [
] [
] [
]πιππωνεα[
 10]νο[.]κα[
]μείον[
] [
] [

Fr. 6 Before the first verse the papyrus is blank for the equivalent of seven verses the first ξ (which is perhaps crossed out) the foot of an interlinear letter, possibly γ right-hand stroke of α, δ, λ After ι the left-hand side of a circular letter

9 Presumably for]φ' ἐπι- in accordance with the Doric usage noted by Apollonius Dyscolus π. συντ. 61 (*Gr. Gr.* ii 483). But all the instances I have noticed are of κ or τ.
 11 μείον, cf. Alcman fr. 90.

Fr. 7

.[
]η[
]κ[
]αλ[
 5]μ[
]τρ[

Fr. 7 Beginnings of lines?
 1 The lower part of an upright
 upright

Fr. 8

.[
].εε[
] [
] [
]εράπνᾶ[
 5]νούκ[
] [

Fr. 8 1 .[, the right-hand end of a cross-bar
 5 .[, an as of γ, τ
 4 Of ε only the end of the middle stroke

Fr. 9

· · ·
]ηϵ[
]δacτ[
]ιoc[

Fr. 9 1], perhaps the bottom right-hand
twirl of ξ

Fr. 11

· · ·
]λ[μ][
]η.[
]ω[
]ν.[

Fr. 11 2], above the line the left-hand side
of a circle 3], the right-hand end of a cross-
bar as of π, τ 4], the upper left-hand arc of
a circle, ω suggested

Fr. 13

· · ·
]πα[
]αλ.[
]ζ.[

Fr. 13 2], an upright 3], the left-
hand side of a circle

Fr. 15

· · ·
].[
]κουε[
] [

Fr. 15 1 The end of an upright descending
below the line

Fr. 10

· · ·
].[
].αμ[
]χεμ[

Fr. 10 1 The tail of ρ or the like 2],
the lower left-hand part of κ ?

Fr. 12

· · ·
] [
].ηϵ[
]εα [
]άιϵ[

Fr. 12 2], the tail of α or λ 3]ϵ may
be better, though there is a trace below the over-
hang

Fr. 14

· · ·
]κ[
]λω[
]πω[
].[

Fr. 14 4 Perhaps the top of β or ρ

Fr. 16

· · ·
]α.[
]α.[
].ν[

Fr. 16 1], apparently a middle stop, but
the surface is rubbed and the rest of a letter may
have disappeared 2], a dot on the edge of
the break, level with the top of α 3], the
tail of α, λ, μ or the like

Fr. 17

· · ·
]ευρ'ε[

Fr. 19

· · ·
]δε[
]αϊ.[

Fr. 19 2], a dot on the edge of the break,
level with the tops of the letters

Fr. 21

· · ·
].[
]πεί.[
]υτα[

Fr. 21 1]υ a possibility 2], the foot of a
stroke hooked to left 3], apparently the
left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 18

· · ·
].τϵ[

Fr. 18 1], the ink resembles the second
apex of μ

Fr. 20

· · ·
]στ[
].δ.[

Fr. 20 2], a short stroke inclining slightly
from left to right, on the line], the upper
part of an upright

Fr. 22

· · ·
]ν.[
].θν[

Fr. 22 2], the lower part of an upright

2389. COMMENTARY ON ALCMAN

The Louvre fragment of a parthenion of Alcman, though it is continuously legible to a degree not common in papyrus texts and has been long known and much discussed, is still very imperfectly comprehensible and hardly any new find could be more welcome than one which threw light on its obscurities or the figure of its author. But the hopes raised by the discovery of what were easily recognizable parts of a commentary on this and other compositions by Alcman have been disappointed. Not that it has been impossible to combine a considerable number of the scraps of papyrus, but their combination has not resulted in any appreciable run of text, so that for the most part we are confined to being able to say on what comment is being made not what the comment is. Frr. 1, 3, and 4 refer to the Dioscuri, who are known to have occurred 'in Book I' and 'in the second poem' (which may, but need not, signify different places). Frr. 6, 7, and perhaps 8, come from the exposition of the Louvre parthenion. Fr. 6 relates to a particularly perplexing passage but it throws no light on its difficulties though it tells us, or rather allows us to infer, something about a point of minor interest, what ancient commentators took an Ibenian (horse) to be. The same fragment also appears to glance at the debate whether Alcman was a Laconian or a Lydian, on which subject there is more in fr. 9. It does not seem that the disputants disposed of any direct evidence. Both in this papyrus and another, which I hope to publish in a later volume, their assertions, when not based on general considerations, are based either on quotations from other poets, whose name, date, and authority we do not know, making out Alcman a Laconian, or on inferences, drawn from words used by Alcman himself, that he was a Lydian, words which may or may not bear the construction put on them, though we now learn that Aristotle took this side.

The writing in the fragments numbered 1-34 evidently proceeds from one and the same hand, the small variations which may be perceived from place to place being such as would be expected to occur in the course of copying. The writing in the set of fragments brought together under 35, though to be attributed in my judgement to the same hand, differs from the preceding in appearance both in being smaller and in being more loosely executed. Fr. 35 also contains abbreviations, which are absent from 1-34. There may therefore be some doubt whether the two sets belong to the same manuscript though there can I think be none that they both contain commentary on Alcman. I refer to them below as variants A and B.

I believe the same copyist, whose hand I should compare to those of 1233 and 2176 and now assign to the second half of the first century, was further responsible for the following manuscripts: 2318; this resembles variant A, from which it differs

in being larger and in having a second α , in which the loop is not round but angular: 2327; in variant A but larger: 2397; this verges towards variant B (except for fr. 15 which is more like A, though some letter forms are different) but is slightly larger and not quite so relaxed.

Besides these four manuscripts, which are reproduced in P.O. xxii and this volume, so that readers can form their own opinion about them, there are reserved for future publication: a few very much tattered and rubbed prose fragments, perhaps also a commentary, in variant A; and a good number of fragments of lyrical pieces in variant A but of various sizes, the smallest larger than the Alcman commentary, some capable of being confused with the elegiac poem, 2327, and 2318.

Finally there are fragments in the same or a similar hand which I cannot certainly assign to any of the manuscripts mentioned, and in general the possibility that there is a greater number of separate manuscripts than I have succeeded in distinguishing must be borne in mind.

Fr. 1

(b)

].. [

]ε'δ[...].κῶμα

]μαθξωνδειρη

]ακαναταστελε

5]εταρφθενφρε

]ομεγελαος

]α.δ[.....]υτοντιμα

]ναιςμετατωνδιοςκου

]κοσεντηπελ.[

10 (a)]ε[...].αιλενηκαμ[

]λεγο[]ω...[...].αφα[

(c)

].μετ...δ.[]νεγ.εραπναις-[

]ασεχουσι πο[]δεμναξαντ'ος[

]αγαπη.[...].[]ονβ[...].κχωνκαδ[

15].σερ[...].κα.[].αμφιβ[...].νπο.[

].ουσα.[].νεργων[...].νησθη[

[].ωριδιοςκ.[].ρ[...].αιδου.[

]ασαν []βριοςαντολοασκκαιατ.[

] [

].καθολου[

]ειν.[

Fr. 1 The level of (a) is determined relatively to (c) by cross-fibres, the interval between them is not certain but I believe there is actual contact at one point. The alinement of (c) below (b) is determined by the fibres of the back. There may well be no line lost between them, but I cannot certainly trace the cross-fibres of the top of (a) at the bottom of (b).

7 αι or αρ], the lower tip of an upright on the line 9 .[, unverifiable traces on the under layer, ο not excluded 11 After ω the foot of an upright, the upper part of an upright with a slight hook to the left, a trace not quite level with the top of this, and a tall slightly sinuous upright; there might be no more than three letters between ω and α, if the first and third were ν 12 τα may be meant, though α has no loop and more resembles λ; it is followed by the lower part of an upright and this by the foot of another, perhaps π or η The dash may be the top of γ 14 After η an upright, followed at an interval by a cross-stroke with a perpendicular dropping from it, as of τ or π; the letter presumed missing between them would have been ι, or η. .[, should be written 15],, the top of an upright The traces after κα might belong to one letter, c.g. ν 16],, the top of an upright The ink before νε suggests an irregularly made ν, but ω may not be excluded, in which case των, with nothing missing, is a possible though not verifiable interpretation of the traces 17 interl. ο corrected, perhaps from δ After ν the lower left-hand curve of a circle lexi],, the left-hand side of α or a similar letter Marg. x],, an upright with a trace to the left level with its top, perhaps],.

2 seqq. Perhaps κῶμα | αιῶν . . . κῶ]μα θεῶν δ' εἴρη- | κε οἱ ται . . . Alcman (fr. 5, like Pindar, *Nem.* x 87) described the Dioscuri as alive below ground, so that 'sleep' would be a proper expression for their mode of existence on alternate days, not but what words for 'sleep' are used metaphorically of death from Homer onwards.

4 seq. ἀκανάτας τελετας possible, cf. ἀθανάτοις τιμαῖς Pind. fr. 121, acc. after e.g. ὄρωντες or perhaps gen. after ἐτάρφθεν.

5 ἐτάρφθεν φρένα; φρεῖ would, I presume, appear as φρασί.

7 seqq. αὐτὸν τιμᾶσθαι ἐν Θεράπναις μετὰ τῶν Διοσκοῦρων. For the worship of Menelaus and Helen at Therapnae see PW, *Sparta*, cols. 1329, 1481.

8 Θεράπναι : . . . τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι, οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἀλκμάν ἐν ᾧ Harpocr. in v.

9 seq. Πελο[ποννησ-.

11 The letters bring the Apharetiadae to mind but I find no connexion between them and Therapnae. A grave said to be theirs was shown in Sparta (Paus. iii 13, 1) but Pausanias doubts whether they were buried there, thinking Messenia more likely (ibid., cf. 14, 7).

12 seqq. If I am right in supposing that (a) and (c) touch in l. 13, there are about 3 letters lost between them in ll. 12-13 and none in ll. 14-16. Perhaps something like: μετὰ π.δ[...].ν ἐν Θεράπναις | τιμ]ὰς ἔχουσι. πο[λλὰ] δ' ἐμνάσαντ' ος[]...]αν ἀπήρ[ι]τον Β[α]κχῶν Καδ[μ]ο[]...].σερ[ι]κ[α]ν. μετὰ π.δ. might, of course, be divided μετ' ἀπ.δ. In the lemma I do not know why Βακχῶν should not have its Doric form. πα]ρσεν. appears not to be a possible reading; perhaps, therefore, -ις οἱ -ης εἰς ἵ]καν. I cannot account for the apparent interposition of the daughters of Cadmus. The interlinear note on l. 17 seems to show that the Dioscuri are still the subject.

15 seq. I suppose: ἀμφιβ[ολ]ον πότ[ερον] . . . τῶν ἔργων [ἐμ]νήθη]καν, but τφ cannot be verified.

17 e.g. ὕ]βριος ἀντ' ὀλοᾶς καὶ ἀτφ[ε]θαλάς, cf. Hes. *Θεογ.* 516.

Fr. 2

]οοιμ[

].ων[

Fr. 2 might come from the same neighbourhood as fr. 1 (b) 2],, the top of ε or ε

1 πρ]οοιμ[ι-

Fr. 3 (a)

	]ετω[
	]γκω.[	(b)
	]ρα...[.]ιοίσιπ[
	]οιεστάτου[.]ιωνε[	]μεν[
5	]οδματ[.]εγοςκα[	]αξιοι.[
	]δματ[.]πποτα[	]τωνδιοςκουρω[
	]κυδρος π. γηστων[	]γησειαντιλεγων
	]εστιριμμεντου[	5]ονουτωλεγομε
	]τωιπυθ.[	]αδειανυπο
10	]εστ[	]κατασκευα

(c)

	]εστ[
	]κα[
	]η[
	]γ[
5	]υ

Fr. 3 The appearance of the papyrus suggests that these three scraps may have come from the same neighbourhood, (b) to the right of (a) in the next column at the level shown, (c) below the right side of (b). But it is no more than a possibility

(a) 2] not quite satisfactory, but neither is]ω or]ι.], a slightly sinuous upright, perhaps ω
3 After α the feet two strokes suiting, e.g., ιε, τε or simply π, then traces on the line of two more letters After the gap a slight trace, not quite level with the top of ι, suggesting ε 4 Perhaps Alc. fr. 74 A; see comm.], a dot on the line, apparently the foot of an upright 5], a slightly sloping stroke compatible with ο, ω 6 seq. Alc. fr. 9 7 After π a slightly sinuous upright and, beyond the gap, a dot about level with the top of γ but hardly to be combined with it to form τ 9], the foot of an upright 10], the lower part of an upright

(b) 3], an upright

(c) 2], a tall vertical stroke, perhaps ι 3], a dot on the line and another to its right level with the top of η; possibly only one letter, e.g. κ 5], the upper part of a stroke descending with a slight slope from left to right followed by a trace compatible with the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 3 (a)

	]ετω[
	]γκω.[	(b)
	]ρα...[.]ιοίσιπ[
	αιδ]οιεστάτοι ν[.]ιωνε[	]μεν[
5	]οδματο[ν ετ]έγος Κά[ετωρ	]αξιοι.[
	]δματη[ρε]ε [ι]πποτα[ι	]των Διουσκουρω[ν
	]κυδρος. π. γηστων[	]γησει αντιλεγων
	]εστι οι μεν ου του[	5]ον ουτως λεγομε-
	]τωι πυθ.[	]αδειαν υπο
10	]εστ[	]κατασκευα-

Fr. 3 (a) From [Herodian] π. *εχημάτων* 61 it appears that the lemma in ll. 3 seqq. occurred *ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ ἀδῆμ* (no doubt of Bk. I).

3 seq. It is hardly to be believed that in these lines the ancient citation Alc. fr. 74 A is not to be recognized, but there is some difficulty in adjusting it to the lemma. It is given by one of the two MSS. of the Et. Gen., which alone preserves it, in the form *ναοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν αἰδοιέστατον*, by the other in the form *ναοῖσι κἀνθρώποισιν αἰδοιέστατον*. The two iambic tetrameters, which can be constructed out of these data combined with what we have here:

οἰοῖσι π[—υ—υ κἀνθρώποισιν αἰδ]οιέστατοι
ν[α]οῖσινε[—υ—υ—υ—υ]οδματο[ν ετ]έγος,

would square with *Κάετωρ τε πάλων ἀκέων δματήρες, ἰππόται σοφοί,
καὶ Πωλυδεύκης κυδρός,*

Alc. fr. 9, which follows in ll. 5 seqq., but I am doubtful of the possibility of reading ο in ν[α]οῖσιν.

5 Perhaps εἰ]οδματον. I am not sure that there is room for ετ; perhaps τέγος is enough to fill it. See 2393 fr. 1, 8.

(b) 4 One may guess -η]γήσει.

		Fr. 4	
(a) Col. i		Col. ii	
	.	δροδάμα[	.
	ν	φοίβηκα[
	][.οιω]	ταιαπολλ[
	][[λην]	στροφετον[	(b)
5	]	στυλληπτικ[	.
		θεων[]. . [
		(. [	]. νγα[
		τ[	]. αριδα[.]σεκτων[
		μωσαιμ[	]αμοσυναμ[
10		γεισα. . [	]. . . ε . νατο[
		...μα[	]ρθνα . ικιτερτ . [

Fr. 4 There is no external evidence to determine the distance between (a) and (b). The fibres of the back show that they stand clear of one another; the interval may be greater than the supplements given presuppose

Col. ii 7 .[, an upright γα or γρ unless simply π 10 εγεν or εγην appears to have been converted into εγενν by means of a line drawn from the top of the ι (or the right-hand upright of η) to the bottom of the left-hand upright of ν 11 After να what looks like a tall ι with a stroke slightly curving upwards from the right-hand side of the top; ρ, τ not satisfactory .[, an upright with a slight hook to the right at the bottom, α, ο not excluded

		Fr. 4	
1a		Col. ii	
	.	δροδάμα[	⟨άν-⟩
	.	Φοίβη κα[ι] 'Ιλάειρα	
	.	ται απολλ[
	.	στροφε τον[
5		στυλληπτικ[
		θεων[. . [
		(. []ων γ . [
		τ[ν]δαριδα[ι]ε εκ τῶν[
		Μωσαι Μ[ν]αμοσύνα μ[
10		γεισαπ . . .]σεγεννατο[
		...μα[. .]ρθνα . ικιτερτ . [

Col. ii 2 seq. The daughters of Leucippus (granddaughters of Perieres, *Περίηρος* Alcman fr. 149), carried off by the Dioscuri. In the *Cypria* they were said to be daughters of Apollo (Paus. iii 16, 1).

7-8 The coronis would naturally signify the end of the commentary on a poem, the indenting a title, the bracket cancellation.

9 We are told that according to Alcman (fr. 119) the father and mother of the Muses were Uranus and Ge, not Zeus and Mnemosyne, but this is not universally true as far as concerns Zeus (see frs. 45, 59).

Fr. 5

. . .
]. . ο . [
]δεοτ[
]οιησ[
. . .

Fr. 5 resembles 4 (b)

1 . . , traces of convergent strokes near the line, perhaps ν, followed by the lower part of an upright .[, the foot of an upright

Fr. 6

	Col. i		Col. ii
	(c)]σιπποκολαξαιος		αμνο[
(a)	]ρουττωγαγιδωπρο		αμβροσια[
	]τφε, ακατατοειδος		μαχοντα[
	]ιπποκολλ[		ειρημεν[
5	]αξαιουδ.[	]...φ	5 τηναγιδ.[
	]ηνου πε[	]υτων	αυταισορ[
	]ν αρισταρχοσ[	]ιαμ	δετουτολ.[
	]αταυταγενητη[	]καλε	νακισεια[
	]δεαμφοτερω[	]οντων	ταρνιδες[
10	]ερευνοη.[βηη[	]ους	10 [
	]ουσφησιντησλ[	]ναι	αδ... [
	]υτουδεβουλετ[	]λυ	χονταιτασ[
	]σαλκμαν σω[	]ν	κινακαπε.[
	]νεθνοσασποφ[	]ρι	ανγεπελει[
15	]κεισθαιπροσα[	]δβ	15 νεισθαιεα.[
	]αρτυν περιδετω[	]ων	ουτωσασκουα[
	]σοκη...σδιδι.[	]νεαμ[]	ρακαιηασιδω.[
	]...σγρβ	]δεε.[]	ουσαιτοτουσιρ.[
	]ον[[το]]ποντουτ.[		μαχομεναιπε[
			20 πλειαδωντοα[
			γαρωσπελει[
			]ρουσιν πα.[
(b)	. . . . .		...[.αδια[
	]...[		...ναιμ[...].[
	]...[		]φν
	]αε		25]πειντι'ειναιγαρ[
	]...α		στροφο[
	]κι		]σιαναντι[[τουτω]]
			]χαποδαωσπεηλ[
			]λειπειν'τιμων[
			]ναστρονατες[
			30]λογοντοιουτου[
			]ημασπεριτησ[
			]...νουαστρ[
			]...πο[

Fr. 6 Col. i The interval between (a) and (c) must be at least such that (a) stands clear of (c). Otherwise it can be determined only by the supplements. The level of (b) is fixed by cross-fibres relatively to (c) col. ii. Its position under the ends of (c) col. i must be more or less correct though I cannot certainly follow the vertical fibres from one to the other
 5 .[, a trace level with the top of δ]...[, the top arc of a circle 10],., the right-hand end of a cross stroke touching the top of ο 13]φν or]φνν 14],., on the line the end of a stroke descending from left 18],., the top of a stroke sloping slightly to right followed by a hook on the line; together might be α, λ Of ε only the lower part φ might be φ₁, φ₂
 Col. ii 7], a dot on the line 11 Possibly δισημ 17 η made out of γι], a dot below

Fr. 6

	Col. i		Col. ii
	]σ ιππος Κολαξαιος		αμιν δ[ρθρια φάρος φερούσαισ νύκτα δι'
	]ούτως ή Αγιδω προ		αμβροσια[ν ατε κίριον άστρον άνειρομένοι
	δευ]τέρα κατά τό είδος		μάχοντα[ι
	]ίππος Κολ[αξαιος πρό]ε 'Ιβηγόν		είρημεν[
5	Κολ]αξαιου δ.[	]...φ	5 τήν Αγιδω[
	'Ιβ]ηνοδ.πε[	]υς τών	αυταις όρ[θριας
	]ν Άρισταρχος ούτω	]ει άμ-	δέ τοϋτο λ.[
	]α ταυτα γένη έπ[πων	]κα. λε-	πλεο-
	]δέ άμφοτέρω[ν	πρε]πόντων	νάκις είσα[
10	φ]έρειν τόν [']Ιβηη[όν.	]ους	ταρνίδες[
	]ρουσ φησιν τής λ[	]ναι	10 [
	]ρουτουδε βούλετ[αι	]λυ	αδ... [
	]δ Άλκιδάν. σω[	]ν	χονται. τας[δέ Πλειάδας Πελειάδας φη-
	]ν έθνος άποφ[	]ρι	σιν καθάπερ[και Πίνδαρος όρει-
15	]κεισθαι προσα[	]δο	αν γε Πελειάδων μή τηλόθεν 'Οαρίωνα
	μ]άρτυν. περι δέ τώ[ν	]ων	15 νείεσθαι. έαν[
	]ς ό Κν[ίδι]ος δια[	]νεαμ[]	ούτως άκούσα[ι
	]...ιφς γρ[	]δεε.[]	ή τε Αγησιχώ-
	]τόν πόντον τοϋτο[ν		ρα και ή Αγιδω[
			ούσαι τό τοϋ κίρ[λου άστρον
			μαχόμεναι πε[
			20 Πλειάδων τό α[
			γάρ ως πελειάδες
			ρουσιν πα.[
			νύκ[τ]α δι' ά[μβροσ]αν ατε κίριον άστρον άνει-
			ρο]μένοι μάχ[σ]ονται
			25 πειντι' είναι γάρ [τό νύκτα δι' άμβρο-
			σίαν άντίστροφο[ν τώι
			κανα-
			χάποδα ώστε ηλ[
			λείπειν τιμων[
			]ν άστρον ατε ε[
			κατά
			30 λόγον τοιούτου[
			ήμας περι τής[
			]...νον άστρ[
			]...πο[

the line 18 .[, a dot on the edge of the break, above the level of the letters; half of a trema?
 22 Or α[.].[27 Above the first a a part of a slanting stroke 28 π slightly anomalous, but not prima facie η. See comm. 32 Before ν the top arc of a round letter 33],. α or λ probable

Fr. 6 Col. i If this column was of the same breadth as the next, the lines contained round about 30 letters, of which about 5 are assignable to the gap on the left from l. 7 onwards.
 1 seqq. Comment on col. ii 23 seqq. of the Louvre parthenion (P), which appears to have: αγησιχώραμεν ήντα άδεδενεραπέδω γιδωι τοσειδοσιπποσειβηνωικολαξαιοδοδραμένται. The sense usually obtained from this, that Agesiخوا is surpassed in beauty by Agido as a Colaxaeon horse by an Iberian, postulates considerable corruption in the words to say nothing of the peculiar use of the future, and no light is shed by this commentary, which at first sight looks as if it were saying the opposite.
 6 seqq. The general meaning appears to be: πε[ρι δέ τοϋ γένουσ τών | έππων]ν Άρισταρχος ούτωσ

ιστορ]εῖ· ἀμ[φότερ]α ταῦτα γένη ἱπ[πων -ι]κά. λέ[γ]-]δὲ ἀμφοτέρω[ν τάχει διαπρέ]πόντων | προφ]έρειν τὸν [Ἰ]βη[ν]όν. This corresponds in its first part with the scholium opposite and below P ii 25, but I am not satisfied with the supplement [εξωτ]ικων suggested in that place. I should have guessed an adjective specifying the region in which their excellence showed itself.

A reading of Aristarchus is quoted at P ii 3 *margin*.

10 seqq. The sense is doubtless: So-and-so says that the Ibēni are a people of Lydia and from this he thinks it should be inferred that Alcman was a Lydian.

For the Ἰβηνοί as a Lydian people see Steph. Byz. in Ἰβαῖοι. For the 'wrong' view that Alcman was a Lydian cf. fr. 9 i 11 seqq. of this papyrus and Suidas in Ἀλκμάν (where it is attributed to Krates).

13 seqq. There is more room for uncertainty in the supplementing of these lines. εω[may well be Sosibius, who is known to have written a work in at least three books about Alcman. In that case Σω[σίβιος δὲ ὁ Λάκ]ων | Ἰβηνοῖν ἔθνος ἀποφ[αίνει] might be one possibility, though the citation of a Sosiphanes in P col. ii *lower margin*. makes Σω[σίφανης δὲ τὸ τ]ῶν | Ἰβηνοῖν κτλ. at least one other.

κεῖσθαι appears to indicate a statement of geographical situation, μάρτυν the adducing of the authority for it. If so, I should suppose προσα[to be part of προσαγόμενος or the like (rather than of, e.g., πρὸς ἄρκτου, which would leave very little room for the necessary participle),], ρι- to be part of the name of the land (people, or the like) relatively to which the position of the Ibēni is fixed, and], δῶ to be part of the name of the author cited in support of this location.

16 seq. It now appears to be the turn of the Kolaxi to be identified. The Cnidian author cited might be Ἐὔδοξο]ς. Ἀγαθαρχίδη]ς and Ἀρητάδη]ς I should say were too long but I could not exclude Ktesias.

Col. ii 1 seqq. Comment on P ii 25 seqq.

8 Ἀταρνίδες. Atarneus a town and district on the Asia Minor coast opposite Lesbos. I can offer no explanation of the mention in this context of its female inhabitants. In fr. 35 there might be a similar reference to those of the neighbouring Pitana, though it seems more probable that there the Spartan Pitana is meant.

11 Not -α δι' ἀμβροσίαν, μά]χονται therefore dubious.

12 Pind. *Nem.* ii 11, cf. Athen. 490 f.

16 '(must) take in this sense'.

25 The line νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε εἰριον corresponds to the line παγὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καταχάποδα in the preceding strophe, but if that is what was stated here it does not seem to have been stated accurately.

27 seq. Perhaps a reference back to P ii 7 seqq. Then ὥστε ἦλ[ιον and μὴ ἐκ]λείπειν.

ἦμων would be easier to bring into a reconstruction and the second η in fr. 20, 1 has a similar first upright not projecting above the cross-bar, but to make η possible here it would be necessary to suppose that ink has run to left of the first upright.

Fr. 7

(c) . . .
] κα[
] τετ[
] με[
] εκ[

Fr. 8

. . .
]μεν[
]ωθειδε[

(a) Col. i Col. ii
].[
]φιλυλλαδαμαρε
]. καθυποθεσινταυ
]ηκαινησιμβρο
5]βογ[.

εισκ[
ταδο.[

(b)
]. α βλεπη[
]οιπας παρθ[
]ραμε[.]ει.[
]. αλλαγησιχ[
5]α καλλιςφυροσαγη[
]. χωσννημηπαρο.[
]ησαγησιχορασαλλ[
]. αιοτιεανει[.]τη[
]. ηκουδεμειαν[
10]. ειωπα[.]εινο[
]επειρ[

Fr. 7 (a) col. i + (b) no doubt formed part of the column following fr. 6 (c) col. ii. I believe that (a) may be located opposite fr. 6 ii 25 seqq. (c) is shown by the vertical fibres to have been in the same column as fr. 7 (a) col. ii. I am fairly confident that it stood above this, possibly opposite fr. 6 ii 7 seqq., though at such an interval identification of the cross-fibres can be no more than a speculation

(a) col. ii 2 .[, an upright
(b) 3 .[, a slightly convex stroke 4],, the top of a low upright 6 Of the first and last letters traces consistent with υ 8],, a ligature or cross-bar joining the top of a 9],, an upright with a trace of ink above it to the left, θ? 10],, a high dot compatible with the tip of the upper right-hand arm of υ or χ

Fr. 7 (a) Col. i Comment on P iii 7 seqq.

3 καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην cf. fr. 6 ii 29 κατὰ | λόγον τοιοῦτον.

(b) ἢ βλέπη may refer to ποτιγλέποι P iii 7. ἔ]ρα might precede, but cannot be verified.

2 τὰς λοιπὰς παρθένους.

3 Ἀγχιχώ]ρα με [τ]εί]ρει, see l. 11. I think πα]ραμεί]νει, [may be excluded.

4 seqq. Comment on P iii 9 seqq. 'The poet does not mean that Agesichora is not there'—this seems to imply that the commentator did not take οὐ γάρ . . . αὐτεῖ as a question but as a statement not carrying its surface meaning—but that if you go to Ainesimbrotia's you will not be able to find any girl, who . . .'. Such I take to be the general argument.

10 πα]ρθένον.

11 μ]ε τέ]ρει I believe to be the reading of P also, not τηρεῖ.

Fr. 8 2 Perhaps refers to P iii 14 seq. αἰοί, δέξασθε.

		Fr. 9		
	Col. i	Col. ii	Col. i	
	
		]χον	[
		].ο	[
		]ν	[
		]σελ[.].αυ	/ [
5		].[...]ροσεχεγγυος	[	].[...]ρος ἐχέγγυος
		]βεβαιωτησανγενοι	[	]βεβαιωτης αν γένοι-
		]λακωνειηστοεφη	2 μ[	το
		]αντιφαρινλακωνιτε	ε.[	ει·
		]ρθενιωνσοφωναλκμα	≥ .[	πα.]ρθενίων σοφῶν Ἀλκμᾶ-
10		]ντεμελεωνποτιφορον	[	νι
		].ον αλλεοικελυδοναυ	/ [	ων τε μελέων ποτίφορον
		]ζεινοταριστοτελησκαι	[	.ον. ἀλλ' ἔοικε Λυδὸν αὐ-
		]μψη[.].]απατηθεντες	[	τὸν νομ]ζειν ὅ τε Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ
		].αγρῖοςου.[	[	κύ]μψηφ[.].] ἀπατηθέντες
				].αγρῖοςου.[

Fr. 9 Col i 2], the right-hand part of a slightly rising cross-stroke touching the top of ο ιι],, the right-hand part of a cross-bar touching the top of ο ι3 Of φ only the tip of the left-hand angle ι4],, traces of an upright much taller than usual, followed by an upright with a small loop at the top right-hand side, possibly ρ ρ made out of ε and ε sscr. by 1st hand ι rubbed away except for the tip ρν might be βυ

[Addendum. Since the above was written a scrap has been inserted in the two last lines which makes them read:

]μψηφοιαπατηθεντες [
]ανηραγρῖοςου.[

and puts the presence of Alcm. fr. 24 beyond doubt.]

Fr. 9 The argument is: X is our warrant for Alcmān's being a Laconian when he writes 'rivalling Laconian Alcmān'. Aristotle was misled by the words '...' into supposing him a Lydian.

8 Perhaps τέκτονα, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* iii 113. The quotation is unknown. Among other possibilities we may envisage that it is Pindar speaking of himself in a sentence of the same kind as 1604 fr. 1 ii 23 ἐμὲ δ' ἐξάρετον κάρυκα σοφῶν ἐπέων Μοῦσ' ἀνέστας'. ἀντίφαρις new, cf. Hesych. in ἀντιφ(θ)άρα, ἀντιφαρές. The vocalization as in ἰσοφαρίζω (ἀντιφ(ε)ρίζω).

12 'Aristotle and', perhaps, on the strength of Suidas in Ἀλκμάν' . . . κατὰ δὲ τὸν Κράτητα πταίοντα Λυδὸς ἐκ Κάρδεων, 'Crates', ὅ τε Α. καὶ [ὁ Κράτης αὐτῶι κύ]μψηφ[ος]. The same view I believe mentioned at fr. 6 i 11 seqq.

14 The passage by which they were misled is preserved in Alcmān fr. 24 (ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δευτέρου τῶν παρθενείων ἀειμάτων). Steph. Byz. there has οὐκ εἶς ἀνὴρ ἄγριος οὐδὲ κραιός, changed by Bergk to ἄγριοκος on the strength of Chrysippus π. ἀποφατ. 21, but the truth is apparently preserved by Aristoph. *Clouds* 655 ἀγρεῖος εἰ καὶ κραιός and this place, ἀν]ήρ ἀγρεῖος οὐδ[ε].

[It seems to me obvious that in Alcm. fr. 24, 4 the οὐδὲ before ἐρκειχαιος must be deleted.]

		Fr. 10		Fr. 11
	
		].[		].λα[
		]φασιντρα[		]ααατ[
		]εχιδν[		]αλοεζ[
		]διοπερ[		]αθνν[
			5	]ηρ[

Fr. 10-11 The appearance of these two fragments resembles that of the middle part of fr. 6 (c), but the writing is smaller

Fr. 10 2 For τφ perhaps ηδ

	Fr. 12	Fr. 13	Fr. 14

	]..[	].[	.ον[
	]ωνιεχ[	τα[
	]λη[.].α.[

Fr. 13 resembles fr. 7 (a) and I think may contain the beginnings of col. i 4 seq., τ[η]μ, τα[ε

Fr. 12 The appearance resembles that of the lower right-hand side of fr. 6 (c)

1 A tail as of α, λ, followed by the base of ε, c 3 No room for more than [ι] .[, an upright

	Fr. 16	Fr. 17	Fr. 15

	]αυτ[	]τοητβ[	] τεῖ.[
	]αειλευς [	]καρχη[	] λα.[
		]γαι []..

Fr. 15 1 .[, perhaps the first stroke of ω 2 .[, perhaps β

Fr. 18

·
·
] κο.[
] κικ[
] φυ.[

Fr. 18 Perhaps from the same neighbourhood as fr. 1

1], a stroke rising from the line with a slight slope to right
3], a dot on the line, λ possible

Fr. 19

·
·
].[
] κινωδ.[
] ε.ζωω[
].[

Fr. 19 2], an upright, η or ι
3 After ε, the tip of a tail below the line, ρ or υ Some unexplained ink on the right-hand bar of τ
4 The top of an upright followed by the top left-hand arc of a circle, ζε, γε or the like

Fr. 20

·
·
] ηνημερα[
] α.[

Fr. 20 in some respects resembles fr. 7 (a) col. i but does not join it so that]τ|ηνημερα[ν... δαμ|αρ|ε is to be read

Fr. 21

·
·
] απ[
[]
] ανθω[
] αν[
5] φυλα.[

Fr. 21 4], a dot level with the top of α
5], perhaps the extreme left-hand of ξ, but ζ more like the ink

Fr. 22

·
·
] ελιας ..[
] νεπενε[
] .ετουποτη[
] .παισανεν[

Fr. 22 1], the lower half of ζ or ξ followed by the lower part of a stroke rising from the line with a slight slope to right
3], the tail of a α or λ

Fr. 23

·
·
ποδ[
ρουσαντ[
δε cφυ[
φν...[
5] υ[

Fr. 23 4 υ by correction (ex ι ?) It is followed by the apex of a letter like α, the tops of two uprights, the second taller than the first, possibly ν, and the upper left-hand arc of a circle
5 Above and to left of υ the ends of two parallel horizontal lines

Fr. 24

·
·
] αλέικ[
] στο[

Fr. 24 1], a small hook above the level of the letters, perhaps κ or χ ε presumably meant to be cancelled, ι rubbed and faint

Fr. 25

Col. i	Col. ii
·	·
·	·
] φεσι].[
] ανδι	ο[
] ηκε	χ[
] ρν	5 τ[
5] σοι	θ[
] νι	γ[
·	τ[

Fr. 25 Col. i 1 φ made on another letter
2], a dot on the line
3], perhaps the edge of the loop of ρ
Col. ii 1 The left-hand angle of δ, ξ or the like
7 For γ, possibly π

Fr. 26

· · ·
],.
]ρδ...ιϵ δια[

Fr. 26 1 Perhaps more probably part of an interlinear letter belonging to the next line 2 After δ an upright followed at an interval by a spot of ink level with its top, e.g. ω or ι. The next trace suggests ν, though this does not account for ink between it and the following ι

Fr. 27

· · ·
]ϵ[
]ην[
 · · ·

Fr. 28

· · ·
].λκ[
 · · ·

Fr. 29

· · ·
]ε
]ϵι
]ε
 · · ·

Fr. 30

· · ·
].θϵ[
]τηϵϵ[
]τοι[
].[
 · · ·

Fr. 30 1],., the top and bottom of an upright followed by a dot on the line, perhaps only one letter, e.g. η 4 The top of a circle

Fr. 31

· · ·
]ηϵα.[
]θηικέν[
]ω[...].[
 · · ·

Fr. 31 2 Above ε perhaps a small ο 3],[, perhaps parts of two letters, ο

Fr. 32

· · ·
]δεφα[
]αυξή.[
 γαρ[
]αταμειντη[
]κουεινμους.[
 5]μωτερα[
].αηδονος.[
]τηϵμελοπ[
]ϵαιωϵτοϵ.[
]ϵειρ...αϵ.[
 10].[
 · · ·

Fr. 32 2 After η possibly the uprights of π, followed by the foot of another upright 6],., the right-hand part of a cross-bar touching the top of an upright, perhaps]τηι .[, an upright with top turning slightly over to the right and traces opposite the middle; ε not suggested, perhaps β or ρ 8], perhaps the top part of ο or the first apex of μ 9 ην possible but not verifiable],., the tip of an upright inclining slightly to left

Fr. 33

· · ·
]ηϵαρχω[
]ν οιδευπερβρο[
]νειακαιανδε.[
]μουϵηϵηϵ[
 5]ρϵ[
 · · ·

Fr. 33 3], the foot of an upright

Fr. 34

· · ·
].ω[
]οϵτρατ[
]ρϵυν[
].[...].[
 · · ·

Fr. 34 1],., possibly η but perhaps ρ or υ followed by γ or ι a more satisfactory interpretation of the ink

Fr. 35

Col. i	(a)	Col. ii
	].παρσειν]ωιδαιδ[].σεισ[.]κταιενπιτα [
5	(b)]υτουφ.[ | ]δ'δυμαι [
	].ουκ[.]λακισδ[ | ].νταν].υμαιν[ | ]κοντοε[.]ππιτα [ | ].εδ'ταςμου].ηγυ.[ | ]αισιπιταρατις [ | ].εντησκ'].πειων[ | ].ξασε[[κ]] [ | ]τασπαρθε / α[
10	].ιε[[ν]]προ[ | ].σαιην[ | ]ογου[(g)].γανησ.[ | ]τασαρδ[ | ] [ | ]ιω[ | ]δ'μαχιμοι[].ντασει[ | ]εσει[ | ]οϋ[.]υμου[ | ]λο[ | ]αικ'ενθεσσα[	].σοιδ'τηρηπει[.]χαοναθεσπρω[
15	(d) κτασπ[ | ].ετομελο[. . .]. λεξιν [	].ιουσι οιδεχαλικ[.]εισιδεκαεπιθραικη[
	(e)]νωσρμ̄πεαπτερο[].κειων[.]μιαλ[.]τσιασατ[(f) . . .]'].αισαει[ | ].ροσ[.]η[.]ηοτια[ | ]φ[ | ] ].αισταςεπ[ | ].ησαι[ | ]ηνητ[ | ] ].ρεσχεςθε[ | ]ωμε[ | ] [ | ]α].τοιαισατε.[ | ]. [ | ] . . . [ | ]δ'].ακαμεινπ[ | ]. [ | ] α].σατεμαλ[ | ] ]. [ . . ] [ | ]	(h)]δων[ | ]εισιδεκαεπιθραικη[].η[ | ]ωσασ[ | ]θεοποδεστικ'αιτω[ ]. [ | ]μαχι[ | ]]γαιτωλοιπαντες[ ]. [ | ]φ[ | ]τησαιτωλικηςχαλκ[].ου[ | ]ειλεγ'χαλκιδαταγ[ ]. [ | ]δεις[.] . .] . σεγυβροια[

These fragments (some themselves made up of smaller scraps) are located in the following ways: the level of (b) relatively to (a) is fixed by the cross-fibres, their distance apart is not determinable from the external evidence except that they must have stood clear of each other; the level of (d) relatively to (b) is similarly fixed by the cross-fibres and their distance apart not determinable by external evidence, but it may be given by π[τεροεινω], l. 14, though the possibility of a synonym, e.g. π[τερωτω], should not be overlooked; the level of (e) relatively to (b) and (a) is fixed by the cross-fibres, its vertical position by what looks like the right-hand end of a paragraphus (though I cannot rule out an acute accent) below l. 8 and the fibres of the back which appear to be continued in (d), but, though the contents have reference to the same subject as (a) and (b), the natural continuations of (b) ll. 7 and 9 are not to be recognized at the beginnings of (e) ll. 8 and 10; the level of (f) relatively to (d) and (e) is fixed by the cross-fibres, the appearance of the back is consistent with a position below the central part of (a), but there is an inconsistency in the level of the writing between (f) on the one hand and (d) and (e) on the other, which I cannot account for, if it is rightly located between them; the levels of (e), (h), (i) are fixed relatively to one another and to (d) by the cross-fibres, the vertical position of (e) by the fibres of the back which continue those of (a), the intervals between (e)-(h) and (h)-(i), though not determinable by external evidence, may be given by the supplements χ[αλη]δων, l. 15, and μαχι[μοι], l. 17; finally, the level of (g) relatively to (i) is fixed by the cross-fibres, its position at the beginning of the line by the paragraphus.

See further the commentary.

Fr. 35 Col. i 1 |], three dots in a vertical line, presumably remains of an upright 3 | , perhaps the lower right-hand arc of a circle 4 | . [.], traces compatible with ρ or η and η or ν 5 | . [.], off the line the start of a stroke rising towards the right |], the tip of a tall upright, e.g. ϕ. Between this and δ a dot level with the tops of the letters, more probably δ' than γ' or κ' 6 | . [.], a

dot off the line followed by an upright c | . [.], the foot of an upright below the line |], a loop, open to right, on the line and beyond a trace at mid-letter 7 For]κ perhaps χ For τ a more natural reading might be γ 8 | . [.], an upright with a stroke meeting it at the top, perhaps γ, π but ν not excluded |], the central part of a stroke descending from left, δ, χ or the like Of τ only the stem and right-hand side of the cross-bar but γ less probable 9 | . [.], the lower part of an upright κ' is not only crossed through but has a dot above it 10 | . [.], the end of a horizontal stroke just off the line |], c, the top of an upright 13 | . [.], ε, the right-hand end of a nearly horizontal line touching the top of ε |], λ, a slightly convex upright 16 Or]γο ε apparently retouched or corrected η anomalously made and the circumflex anomalously placed α [.], an upright close to the break, perhaps α' 17 | . [.], the beginning of a stroke rising from the line towards the right τ |], the base of a circle 22 Perhaps ε̄ or ο̄

Col. ii 11 Of]ε only the tip of the tail, but I doubt whether δ is possible 14 | . . .], perhaps the feet of π and the left-hand end of the loop of α 17 | . [.], the left-hand arc of a circle μ looks much like λλ 20 | . [.], a high dot compatible with the tip of the right-hand branch of υ

Fr. 35 Col. i Although the contents of (a), (c), and the upper part of (b) appear manifestly to refer to the same subject, there is a difficulty, which I cannot resolve, in reconciling the positions assigned on the strength of the fibres to (a) and (c) with the prima facie probable restoration of the text. The natural continuation of τας μου, (a) l. 7, would be εακ, in place of which there appears]ην, (c) l. 8, of τας παρθε, (a) l. 9, νουκ, in place of which there appears].ιση, (c) l. 10. Conversely Πι[τράνη] at the beginning of (c) l. 11, would be expected to be preceded by εν in (a) l. 10, in place of which there appears]ογου[. The hypothesis that (c) contains the beginnings of the lines of the column preceding that of which (a) + (b) contains the ends of lines would give an inordinate extension to a single note.

- 1 παρσειν presumably part of a lemma.
- 3 ε[ς]η]κται.
- εν Πι[τράνη], γ ε[ς] τ(ην) Πι[τράνη], 8 τ[α]ς Πι[τράν]τις, 11 Πι[τράνη] and possibly 10 εν Πι[τράνη] refer more probably to the Spartan Pitane, since the Δύμωναί appear in the context, than to Pitane in Aeolis, though Ατάρνιδες in fr. 6 ii 9 might go to show that a mention of the neighbouring Πιτάντιδες is not inconceivable. The letters]τασαρδ[in l. 11 might likewise, if divided before σ, give an indication that Asia Minor was being spoken of, but another division is open (e.g. τας Αρδαλίδας, the Muses at Trozen).
- 4 ν]ν γὰρ ἐπι.
- 5 Δύμωνα[ν], γ Δ]ύμωνα[ν]. The name of the Δύμωναί (in various spellings, but it is clear from Steph. Byz. in Δυμάνες that it is the feminine of the Dorian tribe-name) occurs in the title of a play of Pratinas, where it is alternative to Καρνάτιδες, in Hesychius s.v. Δύμωναί and in Fila(r)g. on Verg. Georg. ii 487. I cannot see that anything preserved here or in 2388 fr. 5, 2390 fr. 2 ii tells us more than is known or inferred from those places.
- The presence of Δύμωναί makes it worth while calling attention to the compatibility of the letters with Πρατινό]υ τοῦ Φλ[ειαίου]. It might be followed by φ(ησι) δ(ε), though I can adduce no parallel for φ= φ(ησι); in the Didymus, BKT i, φ' is φ(ων). φ with suspended η or a broken down form of it is the usual contraction, e.g. BKT iii, p. 28, 15, 856, 65. I have also found φ, but not, that I remember, φ.
- 6 I have considered the possibility that].νταν is the Doric accusative of the same word occurring in its Attic nominative as].εντησ at l. 8, but the first letter seems different in the two places.
- 9 seq.]πειων[and]καιενη[look as if they might be in some relation to επειων, l. 14, and αισαιει, l. 16.
- 12 seq. τ]ου[ς] ὕμου[ς] . . . | κ(αι) τὰ ἐπ[η] . . .].ε τὸ μέλο[ς] κ(αι) τὴν λέξιν cf. Alcman fr. 25 ἐπη . . . καὶ μέλο[ς] Ἀλκμάν εἶρε.
- 14 ἐπέων π[] ν]ν ὡς Ὀμη(ρος) ἐπεα περοδ[εντα. περωτων, ποτανων, πανων, are among the possibilities besides περοεντων.
- 15 I do not think καλλα (which may occur Alcman fr. 98) can be read, though the μ is rather anomalously made (but cf. col. ii 17).
- πα]ρσειν is not verifiable.
- μάλιστ' α[ει]σατε seems to be taken up by α[ει]σατε μ[άλιστα], l. 19. α[ει]σατε μάλ[ιστα], ll. 20 seq.

Col. ii Lines 14-20 are obviously concerned with the various applications of the name *Χαλκιδεῖς* and this theme may have begun earlier since there are *Χαλκιδεῖς* in Ionia (l. 11?) and a *Χαλκίς* in Thessaly (confused with the Aetolian, e.g. by the commentators on Dion. *περιηγ.* 496) as well; see for the first Strabo 644, for the second Dion. *περιηγ.* 496. Interwoven with it appears to be a discussion about warlike peoples (*μάχιμοι* ll. 10, 17 and see note on l. 20).

12 seqq. οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἠπειροῦ |]Χάονας, Θεσπρω[τούς, |]...ιους. We are told on the authority of Theopompus (Strabo 323) that there were 14 Epeirote tribes. I cannot recognize with certainty the third of the names occurring here. Since it most probably ends in -αίο-, I should guess *Κακω]παιούς*.

14 seq. Eust. in Dion. *περιηγ.* 764 shows that the inhabitants of *Χαλκηδών* might be referred to as *Χαλκιδεῖς*. Cf. 803.

15 seq. εἰς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Θράκῃ Χαλκιδεῖς, the inhabitants of *Χαλκιδική*. *ιρ* is presumably the beginning of a proper name. There is not much choice in such and I find none relevant. About the same number of letters is missing in ll. 15-16. There is a number of references to Chalcidians and Chalcidice in the extant fragments of Theopompus but they throw no light on this.

16 seqq. ἔστι καὶ Αἰτω[λίαις |]μάχιμοι γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ πάντες[|]τῆς Αἰτωλικῆς Χαλκιδ[ίδος | ου] *Ομη(ρος)]ει λέγω(ν) Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγ[χίαλον. The reference is to *Iliad* ii 640; cf. Strabo 447.

20 *Χαλκιδεῖς* [το]ύς ἐν Εὐβοίαι. Eust. in Dion. *περιηγ.* 473 says ταύτης δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος οἱ πολῖται ἀνδρεῖοι ἱστόρηται (cf. his note on *Il.* ii 537). They may, therefore, have been a third example of *μάχιμοι* here.

2390. COMMENTARY ON ALCMAN, ETC.

The fragments here collected all seem to be in one hand, but this hand is in itself far from regular in the size and structure of its letters and between some fragments and others there are wide variations in its appearance. Besides the commentary on Alcman, which can be certainly recognized in the largest fragment and may be considered with probability to be represented in several others, there is reason to suspect the presence of a commentary on an Ionic text (fr. 50 (a)-(d)), and if there are parts of more than one manuscript it is not possible to say how many manuscripts there are. But the question is of no practical importance, most of the scraps being too small to hang any interpretation on. Fr. 2, in which alone it has been possible to combine a considerable number of small scraps, contains in its second column tantalizing references to at least one and possibly three historical Spartan figures, but I do not know that anything can be deduced from them about the relative date of Alcman, of which we should be glad to have exacter knowledge.

The writing, as has been said, is irregular in size and structure and though not a cursive contains a certain number of cursive forms and ligatures. I suppose it to be assignable to the second century.

		Fr. 1	
(a) Col. i		Col. ii	
] [
		] λφ [
	]... [	] οιο [
	]ουπολυδε [	] ο [
	]ρχας οδεξο		
5	]ωρεωστου		
	]ος ηνεξο		
	]γ απεφευ		
	]εβλαιψεν		
	]λυδευκης		
10	]νητανσα		
	]ειγητη [
	]αιστη [
	]αυτα [
(b)] [] [
	] φροναλα		
	] ρωναλλη] [
	]αγερωχε	]ηαυ [
5	]ετοδικη	]κφ [
	]βλεφαρων [	]τ [
	]τοσονει [	]ν [
	]ρωνμου [
	]ουκει [
] [
(c)		(d)	
		]εω [
		]πενε [
		]νν [
	]... [	]νωτω [
	]τ φοιβα [ωνεο [
	]στηντωνφοιβζω [
	]γαλαμβανομ [
5	]νωες αλλα [	(e)	
	]στι κυμφορ [	]λαιφ [
		]ωναπ [
		]ν ειταω [

Fr. 1 (a)-(e) The appearance of these five fragments suggests that they come from the same neighbourhood. (a) col. i may well be, within a line or two, the top and (b) col. i the bottom of the same column, though I am not sure that they do not actually touch, in which case the absence of any trace of writing below the last line of (b) col. i, where it seems that enough papyrus remains to have shown it, is deceptive. (c) closely resembles (b) on both sides but I cannot make up my mind whether it is more likely to have stood on its right or its left. (d) and (e) I should guess stood to the right of (a) and (b)

(a) Col. i 2 The indications suit, e.g., the lower parts of *αγγρ* 3 [., the tip of the left-hand branch of *ν* suggested 6 ., the top of a stroke descending left to right followed at an interval by a dot just below the tops of the letters 7 After *γ* the top of a stroke descending left to right and at an interval the bottom of a stroke descending left to right; *γγρ* possible 8 [., a trace of the upper right-hand side of a loop, perhaps *ρ* 9 [., the right-hand arc of *σ*, *ω* 11 [., the top of a stroke compatible with *α*

(b) Col. i 2 Above *φρ* a short vertical stroke, apparently neither an interlinear letter nor the tail of a letter in the previous line 3 [., a curved stroke on the line, possibly the tail of *α* 5 The slope of the top of] suggests that it may have been attached to the preceding letter 6 [., the right-hand arc of *σ*, *ω* 9 [., traces suggesting the top and bottom of the right-hand side of *π* (or *ξ* ?) [., the top part of a stroke curving slightly to right and the extreme tip of a second; *μ* not suggested

(c) 1 [., the tail of a letter like *α* followed by the lower left-hand arc of a circle. There may be no letter missing between these two and the next three,] . . [., which are represented by a hook on the line and two long hooked tails, as of *φ* and some specimens of *ρ* The last three might be]π[., in which case nothing is missing, or]ρ[., in which case a letter is lost in the gap 6 [., the top of a stroke compatible with *α*

(d) 3 [., an upright followed by a curved stroke, e.g. *ις*, but *η* perhaps not excluded

(e) 1 There may be two letters before *λ*, the first represented only by the extreme tip of a stroke descending to the line from left to right

Fr. 1 (a) The mention of Polydeukes (ll. 3, 9) in conjunction with 'sisters' (ll. 10-11) suggests that here is part of a commentary on a passage relating to the Dioscuri and Leucippides. Cf. 2389 fr. 4. L. 5 might then contain the name *Κάστρωρ*.

(b) 4 *ἀγέρωχος*, we are informed, was used for *σεμνός* by Alcman (fr. 122). In an unpublished text there is what appears to be a quotation from him containing the words *ἀγερώχως κήρατώς χοραγώς*.

(c) 2 seq. *Φοίβαιος* would be more correctly a derivative of Phoebe (one of the Leucippides) than of Phoebus, but what Pausanias calls the *Φοίβαιον* appears in Herodotus as *Φοιβήιον ἱερόν* (a temple at Therapne, Paus. iii 14, 9-10 *et al.*; Hdt. vi 61). If *τὴν τῶν Φοιβαίων ἐορτήν* was mentioned, we have no record of what the *Φοίβαια* were.

Fr. 2

Col. ii

Col. iii

Col. iv

		.ου[	.ν.[
		.ν ουδ.[	παντων...[
		.αρασταθεισα.[	τις εκδετωπ[
		.ηναφροδιτηνθε[	κμωρεγενετρο[
5		ων[c. 12 ll.]υρανιωναναγει[	μο[.εντευθενε.[
		νωσκει[c. 8 ll.]καταγενικηνη	ποροναποτησπορ.[.].[
		ουδεις[c. 6 ll.]ψεταιπλησιονχρυσου	ωσγαρηρξατοσηληκατασκευ.[
		στασανο.[.].[...]εξξεισεχρυσοαλλα	εγενετοποροστισιονιαρχη.[
10		]διοικεισαυτον ουγαρπολυτημωνκα	ουνοαλκμαντηνυληνηπαμ[
		.].[κοσμηρηπεδανδρων ου[.αγριος ε[	ραγμενηνκαποθηγον ειτα[
		...εναντ...τοε...υτιονουκ/πολυτη[	σθαιτιναφειντονκατασκευ.[
		μωνοκαλαισο[.].[λλευδαιμωνουδαγριος[	πανταειταγενεσθα[.].[ροντρομ[
		αλλαημερος γνυδιμεστωδαίμονος	ρουπαρελθοντοσεπακολουθη[.].[
15		εωτουπαμ[.].[αρισταν λεωτυχιδας	κμωρκαι/ομ'ποροσοιοναρχητοδετε[
		.]ακεδα[....].βασι.ευσ αδηλονδε	κμωροιονιτελοςτηςθετιδοςγενο
		]υγατηρημασιμβροτα	μενησαρχηκαιτε[.].[...απαττανε
		.]αιτ.γος φυανδε.εν[	γενε[.]οκαιτα.παν.[.].[ανεχει
		]αιδι.ανθωιπολυδα[.].[ω[	τηνφυσιντηντου.αλκρ.υληηιδε
20	Col. i	]εωτηγιδαιμοσεστιτοιμ[	θετις[.].[]τουτεχνιτου οδεποροσκαιτοτε
		]βασιλε[.].[.].[υδηνυ.[.].[	κμωρτημαρχηκαιτωιτελει προερχ[
		]φωροσκαιτιμ[.].[βροτα	δ'α'προεβυτης καιτριτονσκοτος[
		θυγα[c. 7 ll.].]αλισομαι[.].[ωνμα	διατομηδεπαμητηηλιονμητεσε[
		λιστα[c. 6 ll.].]casuper[.].[...].ατρος	.]ηνηγγεγονεναιαλλετιαδιακριτ[.].[
		τηστ[c. 6 ll.].]γτιδων.υ.[.].[...].ρος/	.]ηνυληγεγονενοτουνουπο.[.].[...].πο[
25	]εταειχθραν	δυμα[c. 5 ll.].]τραδυμα[.].[...].εταυ	ροσκαιτεκμωρκακικο.[.].[...].[
	]χολαιπρο	τητηνωδ[.].[...].μανφυε[.].[...].κθη	τεκαισελανακαιτριτονσκοτος ταε[
	]ληπτεον	[.].[.].[μεθαδε[.].[...].ουνταη[.].[...].ε.ατας	μαρμαρυγας αμαρουψιλωσαλλα[
	]κααδεν	τωνλοιπ[.].[...].α.α.γηε[.].[...].μουσα[	συνηλιωιτωμεγνπροτε.ον ηνεκοτοςμο[
	]νοι.ων	θυγατεραςωσμιμνερ.[.].[...].ταρεγ.[	]νονμεταδεταυταδιακριθε[.].[...].ζαυτου [

Fr. 2 Col. i 23]αυ compatible with the traces but of α only the base of the loop, of ν only the second upright and the extreme top and bottom of the first
 28], an upright with foot hooked to left, ν suggested
 see part of the upper arm; perhaps λ
 Col. ii τ], the tip of a stroke touching the top left-hand side of ο, e.g. c 2 [, ε not suggested, but not impossible 4], the foot of an upright, compatible with τ 17], a spot on the line followed by the foot of an upright; possibly parts of two letters Between δε and εν the upper right-hand arc of a circle with a horizontal stroke close below, followed by the top and foot of an upright and perhaps a trace of the top left-hand arc of a circle 20 The space would probably admit of [το]υ After ρυ the top of an upright and after an interval a spot on the line compatible with the tail of α; κ[ρ]α would suit both the ink and the space 22], a dot level with the tops of the letters; the following α is represented only by the top of a stroke descending left to right, at the same level 23], α, a stroke descending from left to right suggesting λ, but I cannot say μ is excluded 27], the base of a circular letter 29 The space seems to exclude αυ]ταc

Fr. 2

Col. ii

Col. iii

		.ου[	.ν.[
		.ν ουδ.[	παντων...[
		.αρασταθεισαν	τις εκ δε τω π[
		.ην Αφροδιτην Θε-	κμωρ εγενετο τ[
5		ων[και Τ]υρανιων αναγι-	μο[.] εντευθεν ει.[
		νωσκει[ci χρυσω] κατα γενικην, εν' ην	πορον απο της πορ.[.].[
		ουδδ ειc [ce]ψεται πλησιον χρυσοϋ	ως γαρ ηρξατο η υλη κατασκευα[σθηναι
		στασαν ου[δε] ε[ξε]λ[ε]γξει ce χρυσος, αλλα	εγενετο πορος τις οιοει αρχη. [
10		διοικεις αυτον. ου γαρ πολυτημων ΚΑ-	ουν ο Αλκμαν την υλην παν[τετα-
		λα]ιχος ανηρ πεδ' ανδρων ου[δ'] αγριος' ε[κ	ραγμενην και αποθητον. ειτα [γενε-
		του εναντιου το εναντιον. ουκ εστι πολυτη-	σθαι τινα φησιν τον κατασκευα[ζοντα
		μων ο Κάλαισο[ς] α[λλ'] ε[υ]δαιμων ουδ' αγριος	παντα, ειτα γενεσθαι [πο]ρον, του [δε] πο-
		αλλα ημερος. νυν δ' ιομεc τω δαιμονος	ρου παρελθοντος επακολουθη[σαι] τε-
15		εω(c) του παι[...].αριεταν' Λεωτυχιδας	κμωρ. και εστι ο μεν πορος οιον αρχη το δε τε-
		Λ]ακεδαμ[ονι]ων βασιλευc. αδηλον δε	κμωρ οιοει τελος. της Θετιδος γενο-
		θυγατηρ η Τιμασιμβροτα	μενης αρχη και τε[λ]οc[.].[...].α παντων ε-
		.]αι τινοc. φυαν δε.εν[]	γενε[τ]ο και τα.παντ[.].[...].αν εχει
		π]αιδι ξανθωι Πολυδω[ρ]ω[	την φυειν τηι του χαλκου υληι, η δε
		]Λεωτυχιδα υιοc εστι του	Θετιc [τη] του τεχνιτου, ο δε πορος και το τε-
20		Λακεδαιμωνιων]βασιλε[ω]c[.]υδευρυ.[.].[	κμωρ τηι αρχηι και τελε. προερχ[υc
		Πολυδ]ωροc και Τιμ[ασιμ]βροτα	δε αντι του προεβυτης. και τριτον σκότος'
		θυγα[τηρ].]α λισομαι τ[]ων μα-	δια το μηδεπω μητε ηλιον μητε ce-
		λιστα[]υκαc υπερ.τ[]ατροc	λη]νην γεγονεναι αλλ' ετι αδιακριτ[ο]ν ειναι
		της τ[ων]ντιδων φυλ[η]c]:ροc (εcτι)	τ]ην υλην. εγενοντο ουν υπο.[.].[...].πο-
25		Δυμα[]τρα Δυμα[...].εν δε ταυ-	ροc και τεκμωρ και σκότ[οc]].[Δμαρ
		τη τηι ωιδ[η] Αλ]κμαν φυε[...].ε]κθη-	τε και σελανα και τριτον σκότοc. τας
		[.].[μεθαδε[...].]ροκοντα η[...].μ]ετα τας	μαρμαρυγας' Δμαρ ου ψιλωc αλλα
		των λοιπω[ν]...]ραc. Γηc[...].Μουσα[	συν ηλιωι. το μεν προτερον ην σκότοc μό-
		θυγατερας ως Μιμμεριμ[οc].]ταρεγ[ε]	νον, μετα δε ταυτα διακριθε[ν]τοc αυτοϋ

Col. iii 2 ...[, a dot level with the tops of the letters followed by the hooked foot of an upright, possibly ν; next a horizontal stroke on the line with suggestions of a stroke rising from its left-hand end, e.g. δ; of the third letter only a faint trace on the line 5 .[, the left-hand end of a stroke level with the top of ι, e.g. π, τ 6 .[, the top of an upright 8 .[, a dot above the level of the letters 16 αμ]α perhaps sufficient for the space 17 After τα what most resembles the lower right-hand parts of β followed by the bottom half of κ; εκ can hardly be read and does not seem to suit the sense], the top of an upright with a suggestion of a stroke touching the top left-hand side;], ι might be read 18 χαλκου unsatisfactory. The first letter was originally κ but this was either cancelled or converted to χ; of the last only the hooked lower half is preserved. I do not understand the purpose of the interlinear λ 20 [uc not]ταc prescribed by the length of the other lines 24 .[,], a cross-bar, as of τ, followed at an interval by what might be interpreted as α and this by another cross-bar as of τ, but I am not sure that the presumed α is not parts of two letters, viz. αυ, and that between υπο and πο ταυτο should not be read

Fr. 2 Col. ii 4 seqq. *Θέων . . . και Τυραννίων*. The first may be supposed to be the Augustan grammarian, 'son of Artemidorus' (*El. Mag.* 144, 55; colophon of an unpublished commentary on the *Pythians*), whose activities are known to have consisted largely of commenting on poetical texts, though nothing on Alcman is recorded. The second may be either the approximately contemporary younger Tyrannio or his master, Cicero's friend, the elder Tyrannio. Neither of these, to judge by the list of their works given in Suidas, who confuses them, wrote commentaries on particular texts, but either more general (e.g. on orthography) or more special (e.g. on Homeric accentuation) treatises.

Theon . . . and Tyrannio read *χρυεῶ* in the genitive, to give the sense: . . .'. To judge by *παρασταθείσαν*, l. 3, and *πλησίον χρυσοῦ σταῖσαν*, ll. 7 seq., no more need be meant than that they preferred *χρυεῶ πέλας*, say, to *χρυεῶν πέλας*. (Cf. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* vii 18 seq. *Ἀέλας . . . πέλας ἐμβόλοι: πλησίον τοῦ ἐμβόλου τῆς . . . Ἀέλας*.) Though the blank before *οὐδ* [l. 2, implies that the lemma began there, I do not think it would be justifiable to assume that *παρασταθείσαν* need be part of it and not, like *πλησίον . . . σταῖσαν*, part of the paraphrase.

9 *διοίσεις*: I see no usual employment of *διαφέρειν* which seems suitable here. 'You will repulse it' should be *διώσει*.

πολυπήμων 'having many hurts' seems not to recur till Manetho and I suspect the interpretation. 'Not hurtful nor harsh' is prima facie the likelier meaning of the words.

Κάλαικος: the ending as in *Λύκαιον*, Louvre parth. col. i 2. Cf. *Καλαίθις* Theoc. v 15.

13 *ἴομεν*: 'let us go', an epic form with dialectally adapted ending.

14 *πα[δῶν] ἀρίστην*, referring presumably to the Timasimbrotā mentioned below.

14 seq., 19 seq. In the Eurypontid genealogy preserved at Hdt. viii 131 a Leotyichidas occurs sixteenth in descent from Heracles, and according to Rhianus (ap. Paus. iv 15, 2) a Leotyichidas was king of Sparta at the beginning of the second Messenian war. The only son of this king of whose name we know is Hippocratidas (Hdt. l.c.). I should gather from the commentary that the names of both Leotyichidas and his son appeared in the lemma of which the beginning and end are given, but that the son was Hippocratidas we cannot tell.

15 seqq. *ἄδλον δέ . . .*: I should guess the expression of an uncertainty whether Leotyichidas was the father of Timasimbrotā. In ll. 20 seqq. she seems to have a different father assigned to her, Eurykrates.

17 Although it is by no means the reading that would first suggest itself and remains unverifiable, I think it is not impossible that *φυσὸν δ' ἐο[ί]κεν* should be posited. 'He', perhaps Kalaisos, 'resembles in *φυσά* . . . the yellow-haired child of . . .'

18 It cannot be established whether *-δωρω* or *-δωρω[ι]* was written. The choice will depend on what was written in ll. 20 seq., which itself is uncertain.

20 seq. In the Agiad genealogy at Hdt. vii 204 a Polydorus and his son Eurykrates occur in the fourteenth and fifteenth places in descent from Heracles. Polydorus was contemporary with Theopompus, twelfth from Heracles in the other house, king of Sparta in the first Messenian war. If *παιδὶ ξανθῷ Πολυδώρῳ* is read in l. 18 and if ll. 20 seq. are supplemented to the effect that the father of Eurykrates is Polydorus (and his daughter Timasimbrotā), the two of the text can be equated with the two of the genealogy. But it must be emphasized that the commentary gives no hint that any royal persons are in question, except Leotyichidas; that *τουπατηροπολῶδ*] is too long for the available space at the beginning of l. 21, unless *πατηρ* was abbreviated; and that if *-δωρω[ι]* is to be read in l. 18 and *υἷος* for *πατήρ* in l. 21, the relationship is inverted and the equivalence with the persons of the Agiad genealogy precluded. It seems possible that the poem itself made it admissible to refer to a character's father and daughter, which otherwise strikes me as a peculiar way of identifying him.

21 *Τιμασιμβρότα*: for names of this form cf. Louvre parth. col. iii 5, 2388 fr. 1, 9.

22 The context no less than the coronis shows that a new piece begins.

71 *λων: π[αν]των* requires a forced interpretation of the ink before the gap, but *τ* itself is somewhat anomalous and *π* is perhaps admissible.

23 In view of what follows at ll. 28 seq. it may be as well to say, that, though *ματρός* could be accepted, *γας* cannot be read for *cas*, in spite of surface damage which has destroyed the lower part of the first c.

24 seq. Perhaps *χ]ορός ἐστι*, in which case this may be a statement of the composition of the chorus. There is a collocation of *Δύμαιναι* and *Πιτανάτιδες* in 2389 fr. 35 col. i, but though I cannot say

that the traces of ink over *τ* are not a, this letter is to the right of the position it should have, if meant to be inserted between *ν* and *τ*, and besides it may be questioned whether a *φυλή* would be defined by its female members.

71ρα puts one in mind of *πάτρα*, i.e. *φρατρία*, but I do not know how suitable this word is to Spartan institutions.

25 seqq. There can be no doubt of the content: *ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ᾧδῃ Ἀλκμᾶν φυσιολογεῖ. ἐκθῆσ-μεθα δὲ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἡμῖν κτλ.*, but, as a result of the fact that this part of the column has had to be reconstituted from scraps which may not have been attached with exact accuracy, there appears in some places to be insufficient space for the supplements. Except that *φυσιολογεῖ* may have been abbreviated, I believe difficulties to be illusory.

'I shall state my view' *μετὰ τὰς τῶν λοιπῶν -ρας*. I have no plausible suggestion. I could make something of *μετὰ τὰς τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκφοράς*, 'at the end of the rest of my remarks about the piece', but I have no belief that this is what was written.

28 seq. The sense is given by Diod. iv 7 *ὄλγοι δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐστι καὶ Ἀλκμᾶν* (fr. 119), *θυγατέρας ἀποφαίνονται (τὰς Μούσας) Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς*; Paus. ix 29, 4 *Μίμνερος δὲ φησὶν* (fr. 13) . . . *θυγατέρας Οὐρανοῦ τὰς ἀρχαιοτέρας Μούσας, τούτων δὲ ἄλλας νεωτέρας εἶναι Διὸς παῖδας*; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* iii 16 *ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος Οὐρανοῦ θυγατέρα τὴν Μοῦσαν δέδεκται, καθάπερ Μίμνερος καὶ Ἀλκμᾶν ἱστοροῦσιν*.

29 *ἐγ[ε]νεαλόγησε*.

Col. iii 3 Perhaps *ἐκ δὲ τῷ πόρω*. Before it, [*Θέ[τις]* would be a long shot.

8 seq. I suppose, *λ[έγει | οὐν κτλ.*, although this does not properly account for the trace of ink after *ἀρχῆ*.

17 All that seems to be necessary is *τὰ μὲν πάντα* but I cannot read this. I should have confidently expected *ὁμοίαν* (though *ἀνά λόγον* would express the relation more accurately), but there is no question that it was not written.

24 Nothing better occurs to me than *ὑπὸ ταῦτό*, which I suppose might mean 'simultaneously'.

The commentator's style is rather rambling, I suspect that there is at least one error in the text, and I cannot be sure of the reading in some places that appear to be important for following the sense. The following interpretation therefore may misrepresent Alcman's cosmogonical speculations. In the beginning there was the *ἄλη*, i.e. the undifferentiated (ll. 9 seq., 23). Since Alcman certainly did not use this name, what name did he use? I should have expected it at l. 17, where nothing but *πάντα* is recognizable. Next there came into being an organizer of the *ἄλη*, who is rather surprisingly called Thetis,¹ then *πόρος*, the 'way of contriving' things or 'beginning', then *τέκμων*, 'boundary' or 'end'. The relation of 'Thetis' to 'matter' put in another way (ll. 17 seqq.) is that of the artificer to the bronze in which he works. It will be recalled that in the Louvre parthenion col. i 13 seqq. *Αἰετα* and *Πόρος* appear to be referred to as 'the most aged' of the gods and a scholion there equates *Πόρος* with Hesiod's *Χάος*. A reference to *Theogon.* 116 seqq. shows that in the poem here commented on *Πόρος* occupies a quite different position. In Hesiod *Χαος πρότιστα . . . γένητ'*, here *Πόρος* (though no doubt *πρέεγυς*, l. 20, applies to it) is subsequent to the *ἄλη* and to Thetis. This would leave *Χάος* free to represent undifferentiated matter, but there is no sign that it was used. From the fact that the *ἄλη* was undifferentiated, it follows that there was 'darkness' over all (l. 23). It is not strictly logical to associate this darkness 'as a third' with *πόρος* and *τέκμων*, since it must have preceded even 'Thetis', and I should have thought it poetically impossible to associate it *again* 'as a third' with 'day', i.e. sunlight, and 'moon'. But if it did not occur in both places, I can offer no cogent argument for preferring it in the one rather than the other.

26 seq. *τας μαρμαρυγας*. If this is a lemma, I do not know what it is doing here. If it is an interpretation, 'twinklings', of *ἄμαρ (ἐν ἡλίω) καὶ σελάνα*, as which it is not specially helpful, I do not know why it is in the accusative.

¹ It would not have surprised Pott. See *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.* viii 174 (ref. from Roscher in *Thetis*, col. 793). Cf. also, though this is of a rather different order, Schol. B in *Il.* i 399.

Fr. 3

. . .
]..[
].ημ.[
].απιχ..[
]ονπαρδ.[
 5]νωδε.[
]ευαα.[
]εμ[

Fr. 3 appears to come from the centre of the upper part of fr. 2 col. ii
 1 Perhaps πλ deleted or νλ with the ink of the cross-stroke of ν run 2], a hook on the line, e.g. π], possibly the left-hand curve of ω 3], perhaps the bottom right-hand angle of ν Of 4 only the feet, but 7ε seems less likely After χ apparently the upper part of η or ν The ink at the end recalls the angle of a 'filler', not a letter, but the 'filler' does not occur elsewhere in this piece 4 ρ not satisfactory but I do not think ρι preferable 5], the top of a circle, c probable 6], perhaps c

Fr. 4

. . .
]..[
]λαπα[

Fr. 4 Perhaps from fr. 2 col. ii
 1], the tail of α, λ, or the like 2 Of α[only the end of the loop

Fr. 5

. . .
].μ[
]υτω[
]αντ.[

Fr. 5 Apparently from the neighbourhood of the left-hand side of fr. 2
 1], a hook off the line followed by the bottom end of an upright below the line

Fr. 6

. . .
]τωπι [

Fr. 6 Apparently from the neighbourhood of the right-hand side of fr. 2

Fr. 8

. . .
]ρ[
].εκ.[
].α.[
]δ.[
 5]..[

Fr. 8-9 may come from the neighbourhood of fr. 2 col. iv

Fr. 8 2], the middle part of an upright], the lower part of an upright 3], an upright with foot hooked to the right, perhaps π], the upper part of a tall upright, e.g. φ, ψ 5 A cross-stroke as of π

Fr. 10

. . .
]οσακο.[
].οτρε.[

Fr. 10 1], a dot level with the tops of the letters, υ possible

Fr. 12

. . .
].[
]αφε[.].[
]ρ.[

Fr. 12 2 Of α only the tail, of ε only the top 3 ρ perhaps the loop of ρ], the upper end of a stroke descending to right

Fr. 7

. . .
]...ε.[
]ακαπ[

Fr. 7 Perhaps from the neighbourhood of fr. 2 col. iii
 1 Perhaps], ρα], an upright with a stroke crossing the top, π or perhaps τ

Fr. 9

. . .
]αε[
]ουα[.].[
]ωζπερ[
]κατω[
 5].ενω[
]αμ[

Fr. 9 2 After α a hook to the right on the line

Fr. 11

. . .
]αγκα[

Fr. 13

. . .
]..[
]σαπλα.[
].ε..[

Fr. 13 1], the lower part of ε or c 2], traces of an upright 3], the tip of the upper curve of ε or c suggested After c perhaps the top and part of the loop of α, then at an interval the tip of an upright

Fr. 10-13 also may come from the neighbourhood of the left-hand side of fr. 2

Fr. 28

]οξι.εισι[
]εγιστορ[
]ω λεγει[
]περιγγ[
 5]καιγα[
]ρν εν.[
]ριπαρα[
]. χρ.[

Fr. 28 6], traces of an upright 7 ρ has a very small loop and may be meant for ρ
 8] ., a dot level with the tops of the letters, e.g. the overhang of c .[, perhaps a circular letter

Fr. 29

].λι... ν[
].ρ ετεκ[
]περτεα[
].εο ατρο.[
 5]δενιμ[
]ετιμαν[
]τασησφ.[

Fr. 29 1], perhaps the right-hand part of α, but off the line and otherwise anomalous; ε no more likely After ι the foot of an upright sloping slightly to right, a trace on the line, ο or the lower right-hand part of ω, the start of a stroke rising to right, the upper part of an upright 2], ink resembling the lower part of a small ε, but not ε of this hand 4], a trace suggesting the top of a circle After εο the top of an upright The ink interpreted as απ might be otherwise combined, e.g. ν .[, a trace (of a circle?) level with the tops of the letters 6 Of α only the extreme left-hand and right-hand parts 7 Of τ only parts of the cross-stroke; π may be possible, or two letters may be represented .[, the middle of a stroke descending from left to right, perhaps part of a circular letter

Fr. 30

].βοια[] [
]κακιζειν/κυ[
].ενκαταλυ[
]ιθμουαυλο[
 5]εταιαυλο[
].δαμμο.[

Fr. 30 1], a trace compatible with the tip of the right-hand branch of υ 3], probably α but I cannot exclude μ 5 The υ is anomalous and may have been made out of an original ι 6] ., possibly αυ but very cramped .[, a dot on the line

2 Perhaps a note on κιδάζειν (-εσθαι).

Fr. 31

]ηνευδ[
]βοιαγ[
] [

Fr. 32

].εκ.[.].[
]δε...ιπε[
].εξετρο[
].λη [

5]...αε [

Fr. 32 1].[.].[, the lower left-hand arcs of circular letters 3], the right-hand stroke of α or μ 5 Before α the lower part of an upright

		Fr. 33		
	(a)	(c)		(d)
	] . απ[	] μωφ[		τ[
	] πα[	] δ' α' πορ[		ν[
	] εϋ[	] . ε' α' λ[. [
(b)	] . α[	] ραισπ[. [
5	] εως[	] βροτο . [┌	
	] ς[	] ικν . [	χ[
		] θαυμ[	λ[
		] τολλ[/ . [
		] ν[. [
10			. [

Fr. 33 Four scraps from the same neighbourhood, of which the levels are fixed by cross-fibres and the relation of (b) to (a) by the vertical

(a) 1], possibly ν, but the shape rather anomalous

(b) 1], an upright

(c) 3], ι or ν α^λ rather suspect, but if α^λ, the second upright should be visible 5], perhaps the tip of the left-hand branch of ν 6], the back of a circular letter

		Fr. 34	
] . [
		] λη[
		] πια[.] μη[
		] . ειπεπ . [
5		] . ιμμεναμοις . [
		] . [ ] . μα[
		] . αλκμ[
		] ντωιā[
		] φαλλου[.] δε[
10		] ψ . μω[.] . [
] . [
		] . ντ . [
		] ην . [
] [

Fr. 34 1 seq. Apparently smaller and perhaps not part of the text 3 For]πι perhaps γ or τ followed by η 4], the lower right-hand arc of a circle 5], a slightly curved upright 10], a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters

7 seq. Ἀλκμ[αν . . . εἶν τῶι (πρώτωι).

Fr. 35

] . [.] . [
	] λα . σο[
	] . [ . ] . ουμ . [.] . [
	] ητέρα . [.] φ[
5	] . τημω . [
	] αρμυριαγ[
	] χνι . [
	] . θ[

Fr. 36

	] . υ
	] . ης
	] . αφ .
	] ρον
5	] υχης
	] κερα

Fr. 35 4 There appears to be no correction in the line and the meaning of the interlinear addition is obscure Of φ only the tail 5], λ or μ 7 Or]κ 8], the top of an upright

Fr. 37	Fr. 38	Fr. 39
$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\] \dots [\\] \gamma \alpha \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon [\\] \varsigma \theta \alpha \kappa \rho \iota \tau [\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\] \dots \beta \epsilon \iota \cdot [\\] \eta \varsigma [\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\] \dots [\cdot] [\cdot] [\cdot] [\\] \omega \varsigma \alpha \kappa [\end{array}$

Fr. 37-39 come from the same neighbourhood

Fr. 37 1 The tail of a stroke descending to the line from the left, the base of a circular letter and a twisted stroke touching it and descending below the line; perhaps $c(a)$ or $\theta(a)$ possible 2], a short upright level with the tops of the letters, ν not particularly likely 3], the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 38 1], a small hook to the right on the line, the end of an upright below it, and a short cross-stroke touching the top of the lower loop of β ; I cannot interpret the traces whether as parts of one letter or of two Of 2 only the stem, perhaps τ], the lower part of an upright followed by the lower left-hand quadrant of a circle, e.g. π or ι or the like 2], perhaps the upper left-hand corner of π

Fr. 40

$$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\] \beta \iota \eta \pi \iota \omega [\\] \kappa \omicron \mu \nu \tau \omicron [\\] \rho \alpha \kappa \lambda \epsilon \iota \alpha \nu [\\] \omicron \nu \dots \omicron [\end{array}$$

Fr. 40 1], the foot of an upright 2], a dot on the line and another above it level with the tops of the letters 3], a trace compatible with the bottom right-hand hook of η 4 After ν perhaps $\xi \epsilon$ The top of an upright at an interval after ϵ ; ν would suffice, otherwise], should be written], the upper end of a stroke descending to right

Fr. 41

$$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\] \tau [\\] \kappa \kappa [\\] \kappa \epsilon [\\] \varsigma \alpha \tau \omicron [\end{array}$$

Fr. 41 1], an upright 3], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke opposite the middle of the letters], the middle left-hand side of a circle 4 I am not sure that γ is not likelier than τ , in spite of traces to left of the upright

Fr. 42	Fr. 43	Fr. 44
$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\] \nu [\\] \nu \varsigma [\\] \nu [\\] \nu \epsilon [\\] \lambda \epsilon \nu [\\] \epsilon \mu [\\] \omega [\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\] \cdot [\\] \nu \omega [\\] \nu \epsilon \lambda [\\] \omega \varsigma \delta \iota [\\] \omicron \nu \lambda [\\] \beta \alpha \lambda \epsilon [\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\] \dots [\\] \pi \omicron [\\] \rho \psi \nu [\\] [\end{array}$

Fr. 43 1 The lower left-hand corners of two circles 5], on the line the tail of a stroke descending from left

Fr. 45 (a)

$$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\] \nu \omicron \tau \eta \iota [\\] \omega \varsigma \beta \omicron \rho [\\] \alpha \iota \omega [\end{array}$$

Fr. 45 (b)

$$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\] \tau [\\] \dots \dots \dots [\end{array}$$

Fr. 45 (a) and (b) are evidently part of the same column but do not appear to join. $\tau \alpha \omega$ ((b) 1 + (a) 3) cannot be read
 (a) 1 π might be η 3], apparently the top left-hand end of a stroke descending to right
 (b) 1], a short curve on the line 2 The first letter has a cross-stroke like τ , the second an apex like α , the next has an upright first stroke with a stroke descending through its top, but no room for ν , the next might be ν ; before ι a round-topped letter like β , after ι the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 46
 . . .
 ου[
 κη[
 βο.[
 βη[
 5 τω[
 αλ[
 οδυ[
 ηλ[
 ες[
 10 πρ[

Fr. 46 4 η not satisfactory but I see nothing more probable

Fr. 47
 . . .
]. .[
]υδε[
]αν[
]ταρ[

Fr. 48
 . . .
].το[
]υτα[
]υς[
].ω[
 5]ατα[
]η[]
]νο[

Fr. 48 1], a dot level with the left-hand of the cross-stroke of τ, compatible with υ 4], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the top of the left-hand stroke of ω

	Col. i	Fr. 49	Col. ii

	]κρι[
	]περση[.].[
	]ρεθα[ ] [		στηκ...[
	] .ονκλη		γαρυες.[
5	] .ην		πρ.[.]. .[
	] .γενει		γαμογ.[
	]υβοιαν		ηπειγ. .[
	] δεκαλ		γαρανδρ.[
	]ιτροφους		επειτα .[
10	]ραστην		μηδιω.[
	]οδε		ενβ πα.[
	] .ριαρε		βαινε[
	] .[.]. [ ]		γενε ^α .[
			] πιπτω[
15			] [ ] υπερκ.[
			] [ ] φοτερωστι .[

Fr. 49 Col. i 4]. ., the traces suggest υκ, but the fibres are disordered and perhaps simply]ε should be written 5]. ., the bottom left-hand arc of a circle followed at an interval by an upright; ωι, εν and similar combinations possible 6]. ., an upright 8]. ., a trace below the line 12]. ., a low horizontal stroke, touching ρ; probably β

Col. ii 3 The fibres are in disorder; possibly η for ε .[. ., the lowest arc of a circle, e.g. ε or α 7 . ., traces compatible with ον 11 .[. ., slight traces not suggesting ρ but compatible with it 13 .[. ., the left-hand side of α or δ 15 .[. ., traces compatible with α 16 .[. ., a dot which might be the left-hand end of a middle cross-stroke

Col. i 1 seq. There is a possibility that a comparison with Hes. *Θεογ.* 375 seqq. is apposite: *Κρίω δ' Εὐρυβίη τέκεν . . . Πέρσην*. And in connexion with Titans the *ἐκατόγχειρες* might be mentioned, (['O])βριάρε[ως] (l. 12).

Col. ii 11 There may be a mention of the second book of the *Parthenia* (or the second parthenion?).

Fr. 50

	(c)		(d) Col. i	Col. ii
	] ^	οικτρ[
	] ^	αυτηγε[
		] πυρετος[		] κυ[
		] λεγεινμ[	] κανδρει	κα[
5		] ακαναγν[	] ιδε	του[
		] ωδαιμ[	] τηκεν	αποδ[
		] αριστοφαν[	] νκομι	πλ[
		] ζωνισω[	] ζασον	ω[
		] τωσαντογ[	] πεταξεν	ον[
10		] ους[.]ν[	] νε	] τ[
		] ρωτα εσην[	] ε[] ..[
		] πιπασιντους[
		] περουμ[.]...[.]εινλ[
		] διαξεινκ[.]...[.]στρεφει[
15		] δεουπολυνχρονονδ[
(a)		] ειναιδιοις[.]...[.]ουπολυ[
	] ..[ ] ..[	] ζησεσθαι μενθηρημ[
	] ηπειταιεκ	] μενθηρασκαλουσιτας[
	] σηνα	] καιφρον[.]...[.]δασ διζε[
20 (b)		] διζη[] ηδηη[
	] σιν	] θυρασ[
	] μιδουθελειν	] σινταυτη[
	] αυτοις	] ειςμεν[
	] σαιδαχε	] πεποιη[
25	] νωσας	] στελλε[
	] ασκρητηρας	] τοεπιλε[
	] επιτουστε	] ρουσιης[
	] κρουσασκαι	] καιους[
	] τ[.]νσκο.ς	] επεστ[

FR. 50 (a)-(d) Though these four fragments may be supposed to come from the same neighbourhood I cannot determine their exact positions in relation to one another. I should say that (a) and (b) certainly belong to the same column and that the interval between them cannot be very great. From the colour of the papyrus I should infer that (a) is to be placed to the left of (c) not lower than l. 20

and (b) to the left of (c) not higher than l. 21. The same criterion would lead me to place (d) to the right of (c), in which case (d) i 4, 6, 7, 10 have reasonably satisfactory continuations in (c) ll. 5, 7, 8, 11, though I cannot with complete confidence trace the fibres across from one fragment to the other. For considerations relating to a different location for (b) see the commentary at l. 26

(a) 17 The remains of the first two letters suggest the bases of δε. The last letter might be α

(b) 22 For]μ possibly]α 24], traces compatible with υ, but I am doubtful how much is ink 27 Of]ε only the end of the cross-bar 28], the tail of α or λ 29], the upper part of a stroke leaning slightly to right. The ink between ο and ζ consists of a yoke-shaped stroke reaching from one to the other, through which, nearer the left-hand end, passes an upright stroke like ι

(c) 1 seq. To the left of these lines is a sign which may be meant for the 'ancora' denoting an addition in the lower margin, with another trace of ink above to its left 5], the left-hand arc of a small circle off the line 6], the middle left-hand arc of a small circle off the line 9], perhaps the left-hand apex of ν 13].], traces compatible with the tip of the second upright of ν and the top left-hand arc of ε, 14. After κ a small loop near the line compatible with α. Touching ζ a trace compatible with the tail of α 16], a trace compatible with the bottom right-hand angle of ν 18], the start of a stroke ascending from the line to the right 19], the middle left-hand arc of a circle 21], ε or θ 25 τ written by the original hand on ε 26], γ or the left-hand side of π 29], the edge of an upright dependent from the right-hand end of the cross-stroke of τ

(d) Col. i 4], the lower right-hand arc of a circle 5], perhaps ω preceded by the extreme right-hand end of a cross-bar as of γ, π, τ 8], a hook on the line with a spot above it, e.g. η or ι 10].], the lower part of an upright followed by the lower left-hand part of a circle, τ one possibility Col. ii 4], the lower part of an upright descending below the line 11], the top of a circle

(b) 23 c' presumably c(ων).

26 The Ionic forms here and at (c) l. 17 and what appears to be an Ionic form at (c) l. 27 suggest an attempt to locate (b) to the right of (c), so as to bring them both into the same neighbourhood. But though Αχε|ρουσιης, (b) l. 24-(c) l. 27, are a satisfactory combination, I see no other, and I am reasonably certain that the cross-fibres rule this location out.

(c) 13 seqq. Perhaps a comment on a lemma meaning 'will not live long'. The present κατα-στρέφει, l. 14, 'die' is difficult among the futures διάξειν, διοίσειν, ζήσεσθαι, and perhaps I have misread as φ a badly made ψ.

15 ού(τω).

16 What I have read as ει has an anomalous look and may be meant for θ, though still rather anomalous.

17 seqq. μενθήρας καλοῦσι τὰς μ[ερίμνας | και φρον[τ]ιδας is given by the lexica, see Hesychius, Suidas, Et. Mag. in ν. μενθήρη occurs in literature only in one place, a line rather dubiously attributed to Panyassis, fr. 12, 15 a. If Alcman used the word, it would be expected to appear in a lemma in its Doric form, so that, leaving aside the possibility of error, the ending -ρη here is an argument in favour of supposing that these scraps do not belong to the Alcman commentary found in fr. 2 (see the introduction). But perhaps one may envisage the occurrence of μενθηρη, that is, the Doric 3rd pers. sing. pres. ind. act. of μενθηρᾶν, though no such verb is otherwise attested.

Fr. 9

] .[
] .[
] λα[
] γλυκεω[
 5] παρᾶτ[
] τερον.[
] εἰπε [
] .ε.[

Fr. 9 1 [, the start of a stroke rising to right 2 [, the foot of an upright 5 ε anomalous, the right-hand side being closed by a thick upright; θ would more naturally be read or ε might have been changed to ι 6 [, the tip of a tall upright, e.g. η, κ 8] ., perhaps θρ [, perhaps π, but τ.[not ruled out

Fr. 12

] .[
] οντ.[
] αρτη.[
] νονουκ[
 5] . . ντο.[
] . οδη.[

Fr. 12 1 γ or π 3 [, perhaps the lower left-hand side of ε or c followed by the foot of ε or c 5] βεφ could be made of the remains but they are rubbed and this may be illusory [, the upper end of a stroke descending to right; υ possible 6 Before ο what looks like θ with a straight left-hand side [, a slightly concave upright

Fr. 10

] . λυλλ[
] ντοϛ[
] υ[
] η[

Fr. 10 1 [, the lower tip of a stroke descending from left

Fr. 11

] . . .[
] [
] οσμ[
] ρδια[
 5] υπριδ[
] φυσειγα[

Fr. 11 The space between ll. 1 and 3 is greater than that elsewhere left between consecutive lines but not enough to accommodate a line of ordinary size

6 Of α[only the tip of the lower left-hand angle

Fr. 13

] υ[
] . ανε.[
] . ιειπ.[

Fr. 13 2] . . , two dots close together on the line; perhaps] γ [, an upright connected with ε by the prolongation of the cross-stroke, e.g. ει or ετ 3] . , a dot level with the tops of the letters [, the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 14

] α[
] τ[
] υ[
] . αιωση.[
 5] ιτοεα[

Fr. 14 4] . , a dot level with the tops of the letters [, the left-hand parts of γ or π or possibly another η

Fr. 15

] .[
] . ωϛ[
] ειω[
] . οικα[
 5] . .] θ[

Fr. 15 1 The lower part of an upright 2] . , a dot on the line 4] . , the lower part of the right-hand stroke of λ or μ 5] . [, the top of a small loop

Fr. 16

] . ι.[
] . ιδω.[
] νααα[
] . υ[

Fr. 16 1] . , the foot of an upright with a cross-stroke above, perhaps a cancelled letter [, the start of a stroke well below the line, ascending to right, possibly α 2] . , traces compatible with the extreme right-hand tips of the arms of κ or χ A cross-stroke through the right-hand arc of ω [, the lower left-hand arc of a circle 4] . , an upright

Fr. 17

] ειαίτ[
] . .] α.[

Fr. 17 2] . , a short upright, the foot hooked to left, with ink to right of its top

Fr. 18

] αιου.[
] . αϛ[
] λα[

Fr. 18 1] . [, the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 19

] κ.[
] . α[
] ηϛ.[

Fr. 19 1] . [, the lower part of an upright 2] . , the foot of ε, c, or the like

Fr. 20

] [
] υρο[
] . α.[

Fr. 20 1 Stripped 3] . , the upper end of a stroke descending to right [, the tip of an upright

	Fr. 21		Fr. 22
(a)	.	.	.
	]νεμμε[	.	]ι[
	]πενθερο[	.	]δεσπα[
	]τοσπενθ[	.	]στον[
5	]οσκειβιδη[	.	]οαακ[
	]οοαακ[.	
(b)	.	.	
	]νει[
	]ςδηεπ[
	]ςουκα[
	]εον . απα[
5	] . . . καλ[.] . νηρ[
	]ραλληλωστραυτο[
	]τεβηωτων λα[
	]σινουσιανγα[
	]ααμυκλασκα[
10	] . δρομονφυλα[
	]ευου[
(c)	.	.	
	] . ρ . . [
	]γλυκηα[
	] . . [ςδιαδε[

Fr. 21 The relative positions of (a)–(c) are fixed vertically by strongly marked fibres of the backs. None of the cross-fibres of (a) or (c) are to be found, so far as I see, in (b) and I do not think there is any doubt that (a) is rightly placed clear of (b) above and (c) clear of (b) below

(a) 1 [γ or π probable 2], the lower end of a stroke descending from left 3], the lower end of an upright descending below the line 5], the upper right-hand arc of a small loop, followed by what may be parts of two letters; perhaps]ραυ[τ]ο, but with a different combination two letters might take the place of [τ] Above and to right of κ the left-hand arc of a circle; ω prima facie suggested but possibly ς, i.e. αυ, was written

(b) 3 [a dot level with the tops of the letters, perhaps τ 4 Between ν and α the lower part of an upright separated by a gap from the upper part of an upright 5], the left-hand arc of a circle 5] . . . the lower end of a stroke descending from left followed by the foot of ε or ς and this by a dot on the line with another above to right 6], the upper tip of a stroke descending to right 7], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the first apex of ν 10], apparently a small apex but perhaps the top of ο 11 [prima facie the angle of γ or the like, but ς perhaps not ruled out

(c) 1], the lower end of a stroke descending from left 3], the lower part of an upright descending well below the line 4], the lower tip of a stroke descending below the line

	Fr. 23
	.
	]μη[
	]ι[
	] . . ]μ[
	] . ευς . . . υ[.] . ηκ[
5	]ωστ . ακ[.]λουθογ[
	]ω[. .]διαμεν[
	]κενδ[.]ρικωςδ[
	]σνδ[.]ςμοσα[
	]παλιν[. . .] . . [
10	] . εοικ[
] . . [
	.

Fr. 23 2 [partly stripped; perhaps λ or the left-hand side of χ 3], a cross-stroke in the middle position; perhaps ε 4], the lower end of a stroke descending from left, λ or μ suggested . . . , the middle of a stroke rising from left to right, the lower left-hand side of ε or θ, a trace of an upright 5], the lower part of a stroke descending from left, perhaps λ or μ 5 Between τ and α a trace on the line, ε rather than ο 6 [γ or the left-hand side of π 7] χ could not be ruled out Of δ[only the left-hand base angle 10], the lower end of a stroke descending from left 11 An apex suggesting the left-hand top part of ν, but no trace of the right-hand upright, followed by the top part of δ or λ

Fr. 24

.
]υ[
]αυ[
]ων[
]ναυτ[
5] . [

Fr. 24 2 [the lower end of an upright descending well below the line 4 Of τ only the left-hand end of the cross-stroke

Fr. 25

] . ατιζο[
]μενη[
] . [

Fr. 25 2 [the lower tip of an upright descending below the line

Fr. 26

]ωστυ[
]αιω[
]αθεα[

Fr. 26 1 [an upright

Fr. 27

.
 .
]της.[
]θαιτουτ[
]ονακις[
]νσιτοφ[
 5]ρυλλον.[
]πολυ[.].[
].ο.[
 .
 .

Fr. 27 1], an upright descending below the line with the foot curving to left; perhaps π 5], a dot compatible with the lower end of the right-hand stroke of α λ, apparently not α], an upright with a slight slant to right followed by confused ink which may represent a second letter 7], perhaps the upper right-hand side of the loop of ρ or β, but ο preceded by γ or τ cannot be ruled out], an upright with ink to right of its top; perhaps γ or π

Fr. 28

.
 .
].α[
].ουα[
]π[
]τε.[
 .
 .

Fr. 28 2], γ or τ α[, I am not sure that χ may not be read 4], an upright

Fr. 29

.
 .
].ων[
]αλμ[
 .
 .

Fr. 29 1], most resembles the top of the upright of a κ in the next line, but inordinately tall 2 Or perhaps λ[

Fr. 30

.
 .
].[
]ζσα.ε.[
]π.[
]ετο.[
 5]ωνος[
]ομε.[
]οντε.[
].τον.[
]ορπυ[
 .
 .

Fr. 30 2 Between α and ε the upper part of a tall upright, probably δ], the upper part of a tall upright, probably η or κ 3], the left-hand arc of a circle 4], a trace of ink off the line 6], an upright, probably not ε 7], a dot on the line 8], the lower end of the tail of α, λ, or the like], the left-hand stroke of λ or μ

Fr. 32

.
 .
]καλλω [
]μεθατο [
].κοικον [
].υανι[
 5]φη [
]μα [
].πο [
 .
 .

Fr. 32 1 The second λ rather anomalous and perhaps μ was intended, though there is a break between the two halves 3], perhaps η most probable though]γο or]το could not be ruled out 4], a dot level with the tops of the letters 6]μ possibly αλ or λλ 7], the top right-hand angle of π possible, but η and perhaps υ not ruled out

Fr. 31

.
 .
]ω.[
].ν [
]ολ.[] [
] [
] [
 .
 .

Fr. 31 1 After ω the start of a stroke rising to right and at an interval a similar stroke beginning farther below the line and having a trace to the right of its upper end 2 The letter before ν appears to have been corrected. It resembles the second apex of μ, and, if μ is to be recognized, it must be combined with the preceding trace, a dot level with the tops of the letters 3], a dot slightly above the general level of the letters

Fr. 33

.
 .
].ατο[
]τοις [
]γαρ[
 .
 .

Fr. 33 1], an upright

Fr. 34

.
 .
]ουπει[
]γαρλα[
]ων [
]της[
 5] [
 .
 .

Fr. 34 2 Above α[what looks like a 'short'; not ο with the top damaged

Fr. 35

. . .
].[
]λατοροα[
]ηνηροτε[
]ωνδοσει[
 5]επι.[

Fr. 35 1 A trace of the lower left-hand arc of a circle

5 .[, part of a cross-stroke as of τ

Fr. 36

. . .
]παγ.[.][κα[
]εμτογπολιτα[
]ροεισαθαγαμ. . . εις[
]επολεωσαλλεπιτω.[
 5] πολε.σερε.λοις[
], γωνο.[.]. ακτα.[
]ων.[]κπ[
]traces[]δοντ[
] ,, [

Fr. 36 The surface is in many places loose and in some stripped, in some covered by adhering fragments. There is likely to be a good deal of illusion in the decipherment of the dotted letters. The traces at the beginning of ll. 8-9 are on the underlayer

2392. DIONYSIUS, *Commentary on Alcman, Μέλη Bk. iv (Colophon)*

No commentator on Alcman of the name of Dionysius is known except that the so-called Etymologicum Magnum speaks, in *ὑποπτέρων ἀνείρων*, which refers to the Louvre parthenion col. ii 15, of Διονύσιος ὁ εἰδ() or *Κίδιτος* (*Κιδώνιος* is conjectured), in connexion with the ending *-ίδιος*. In a Latin *explanatio in artem Donati* (Keil, *Gr. Lat.* iv 529) we are informed that Dionysius Thrax was 'lyricorum poetarum longe studiosissimus'. I cannot say what weight or relevance this statement has.

I have recognized no other fragments of this commentary either by the external evidence of the hand, which is of similar type to 1231 and may be dated in the second century, or by the internal evidence of the matter, but it is possible that the text would have a somewhat different appearance from the colophon and not all the fragments have yet been examined with sufficient closeness to make it possible to say that more of it will not be found.

] []
]διον.σιου.επο.[
] αλκμανος [] []
]μελ[.]ν /δ[]
] []
] ΓΥΓ []
] []

1 Of the last letter, which is rather close to ο, only a dot of ink level with the tops of the letters remains

1 επο[suggests *εποποιου* and at least two persons named Dionysius are recorded who are so described. But apart from the fact that they are not known to have commented on Alcman we should, I think, expect the qualification to be preceded by the article and to denote the origin of the person named or a nickname by which he is distinguished. *επογομαζομένου* . . ., or anything of the sort, is excluded by the symmetry, which requires that no more than three or four letters should be missing.

3 The existence of at least five books was already known from quotations. Suidas credits him with six.

4 A monogram formed of the first two letters of *ὑπόμνημα*, of which I have noticed a good many examples in the colophons of commentaries.

2393. ALCMAN LEXICON

A list of Doric words and phrases of a poetic character with their interpretations would as a first hypothesis naturally be referred to a work on Alcman and this hypothesis would be strongly supported by the recurrence of the last surviving entry of fr. 1 in a commentary on his poems found in 2389. The arrangement is not alphabetical; perhaps the entries are taken in the order of their occurrence, as in the Homeric scholia minora, which this also appears to resemble in the curtness of its explanations.

The hand is a small round uncial of the same type as 841 (2nd hand), 1231, and may be assigned to the second century.

Fr. 1

]..φ[
] η.[
]επ[.]πι.[
]σιφιν[
 5] .μ[
]αιχμα[.]α. . . .[
] κωναθρο[.]σμα[
]σιδματο.τ.[
] οσκουρμνο[
 10] .[

Fr. 1 1].., possibly the lower parts of α, but ε would be slightly out of alignment and there appears to be a faint trace before it. Perhaps this represents a third letter or should be combined with ε to form η or π 2 .[, the left-hand side of λ or χ suggested, but μ may not be ruled out 3]., the right-hand parts of η or π suggested but the surface is rubbed and]ε (presumably]εε) may be represented 5 Before μ traces suggesting the end of the cross-stroke and the foot of τ, but they are very slight 6 After]α the left-hand arc of a circle followed by a dot on the line . . .[, the lower left-hand arc of a circle, the lower part of an upright descending well below the line, the base of a circle or loop followed by the lower left-hand arc of a circle; four letters may be represented 8 Between ο and τ a dot level with the tops of the letters; after τ a dot near the line followed by the lower part of an upright

Fr. 1 2 I cannot explain the two lines under η, of which the lower looks like a paragraphus.

4 σιδφιν (= θεδφιν) is not attested for Alcman, from whom however a vocative in -φι, ὠρανίαφι, is quoted (fr. 59).

6 seq. I suppose that ἀθροισμα interprets the word after αἰχμα[τ]α. . and consequently that -κόν is the end of an adjective, say, πολεμικόν, which interprets αἰχμα[τ]α. . . στρατὸν . . . αἰχματάν Pind. Ol.

xi 17 seqq. is the kind of phrase I look for and I cannot assert that αἰχμα[τ]α στρατ[ος] (or -αν . . . -ον) is not represented here, but I do not think it is the reading that would first occur to one.

8 seq. σιδματων τεγ[is acceptable and, if it is right to recognize σιδματων τεγος, we can refer it to its context, which is partly preserved in 2389 fr. 3. A temple of the Dioscuri is in question.

Fr. 2

] .αν[
]ως μηβ[
]δομειν[
]ννιειν[
 5]ωνοικο [
]ποιηων[
] .ην .[
] .μηειν[
]ειετ[
 10] .να .[
] [

Fr. 2 1] ., ν would suit, but two letters may be represented 4 The surface is damaged and τ for υ is perhaps not ruled out, but it is not the prima facie probable interpretation of the ink 7 If]τ or]χ, there is another letter between this and η ν is written large, as if final, but there is a dot of ink, like a high stop, after it 10 .[, the lower part of a stroke descending below the line through the tail of α, its foot hooked to right

2394. CHORAL LYRIC IN THE DORIC DIALECT (?ALCMAN)

Too little remains of the text represented in the following fragments to make identification of their author, even if it could be achieved, of much practical value. Since it clearly comprised strophic compositions (fr. 1 (a) i 5 marg.) in the Doric dialect (as shown by accentuation, ἐγών for ἐγώ, ε for θ in παρκενίκαί, ω for ου in genitive singular, -ᾶc in accusative plural, etc.), the ascription to Alcman will naturally present itself to the mind. I see nothing inconsistent with the possibility.

The hand is a firm well-spaced uncial, upright or sloping slightly backwards, I suppose of the late second or third century. Most or all of the lection-signs may be original. At least two, and possibly as many as four, different hands, about contemporary with the text, may be distinguished in the marginalia.

Fr. 1

	Fr. 1	
(a) Col. i		Col. ii
<p>1] κωενα[]] μαλικᾶς· θυμαλι^κ NI] εος.[]] σε[...]. ος· ^οκειων^ο [] ×] υciai αφνεῖν^ο· πλουςia[] 5] [] ο^υδιατηνανιτροφο[]] αν []</p>		<p>αμη[εγων[]].[...].]. αδ[] ωιτε[] μοικαι[] εγωνδ[5] παπτα[] αυβανεχω[] παραπυθμ[] χεδον[× τ...]. σε.[10 × καλ[^ωυ]ςυ[...]. [ ] ] | κυγαλ[]) λαο.[] κααμ ηica[] cal] []</p>
(b)		

Fr. 1 (a), (b) All the right-hand part of (a) is darker than (b) and I cannot trace the vertical fibres in detail, but I am nevertheless disposed to be fairly confident that (a) contains the top of the same two columns as (b). I see no way of determining the interval between them
(b) Col. i is badly rubbed

Fr. 1 (a) i Upper marg.], α or perhaps λ 2], a cross-stroke as of τ, but I am not sure that two letters are not represented, the first having a slightly domed top; e.g.]ετ 3 Of]ε only the end of the overhang]... rubbed; perhaps ον, but of ο only scattered dots, of ν only the extreme lower end of the first and the upper part of the second upright 5], the tip of a tall upright, φ or ψ], apparently the base of ε, but the surface above and for the space of a letter to the left is now blank. Perhaps, therefore, a mark of length over α in l. 6 6], perhaps the upper right-hand arc of ο, but in a damaged place

(b) i 1], on the line apparently the end of a stroke descending from left 2], I cannot combine the traces satisfactorily. First appears to come either η or an upright followed by ε, after this a short stroke rising from the line with a slight slope to right followed by a dot like a stop, together just possibly representing α 1 seq. marg. The reading of the dotted letters in the first line and the estimation of the number of letters in the second line of the marginal addition are to be treated with great reserve 4 Of φ only the upper part of the upright and upper side of the right-hand loop Before ν the top of an upright taller than most ι's φ[α]ν- not prima facie acceptable There is no trace of text after l. 4, though the ends of a marginal addition to the left of the last two lines of (b) ii would be presumed to imply the existence of text to their own left

(b) ii 1], the lower part of a stroke descending from left 9 Perhaps τη; or τ[.] should be written 10], part of a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters 12], π or γ. 14 The top of an upright followed at an interval by two traces level with the top of the letters

Fr. 1 (a) i 1 υμ- for δμ- attested for Aeolic (in this word P.O. xxi Addenda 1231, 6A 7; 2294, 11), not Doric.
Ni() adduced on Sophocles 1174 iv 23, on Sappho PSI 123, 3, on Alcaeus 2166 (c) 2 i 14, and elsewhere.

3 There appears to be some relation between the]σε[...]. ος of the text and the κειωνο() of the marginal note, but I do not see what it is. ε may represent θ, but I recognize no recorded common or proper noun.

4 αφνεαί τ' looks like a v.l. of πλο]υciai, though the additional τ(ε) is strange. It appears to be then interpreted, as commonly in lexica and the like, as πλουcia[ι], though again the retention of the Doric accent of the text is strange.

For αφνεαί feminine cf., e.g., Bacchyl. 5, 53.

5 I presume that the note means that the strophic respension prescribed a particular form in the text.

Fr. 1 (b) ii 5 παπτα[ι]ν-.

6 αψ' ανεχω[ρ]-.

7 παρὰ πυθμ[έν]-. But παρ fr. 2 (a) 4.

10 Perhaps the original καλuc was an error for καλουc and καλωc was substituted for this but in other places the change is in the opposite direction, fr. 2 (c) 5, fr. 6, 2.

11 Probably κυγαλ[οειc or the like, though κυγā is in no way ruled out.

13 ηica[ν with Doric accentuation.

Fr. 2

(a)
]..[
]αιτακο.[
]αστεκαλ[
]απαρτυ.[
 5]αντιν.[
]ρματακ[
]ων [
]σεισικ[
]ᾶ. [
 10]πόδας[
]κατωκεφ[
]εσιδωρ [
]νυσιπτέρ[
] [
]αρσενικαι [
]αι [
]

(b)
]αθει[
] [

(c)
].[
] [
]φουνικεᾶ [
]ναδῆμάτᾱ[
 5]ειᾶσμυρ·ω· [
]θεξανῖτέ.[
]. [

Fr. 3

].ελαθ[
].αζ[

Fr. 4

].[
]ᾶζ [

Fr. 5

].ᾶ [
].μ [

FIG. 2 (a)-(c) The location of these three fragments presents a problem I cannot solve. Cross-fibres common to all three can be followed with certainty and the resemblance in colour of (a) and (b) and their difference in this respect from (c) makes it all but certain that (c) cannot be located in such a way as to separate them. If (b) stood on the right of (a), then—since both (b) and (c) *prima facie* contain ends of lines—(c) must have belonged to a different column from (b), and also from (a), if (a) and (b) were from different columns, which would be left undecided. If (b) stood on the left of (a), (b) must be from a different column, since the writing of (a) and (b) will then be at different levels, but (c) might well contain the ends of lines of (a), and this solution, though I cannot demonstrate its correctness, seems to me for internal reasons (see comm.) acceptable. The possibility that (c) represents a third column to the left of (b) and (a) may, I should judge, be neglected

Fr. 2 (a) 3 Above]α a trace of ink (accent, mark of quantity, or the like, more probably than a letter) 4 .[, the lower part of an upright with a diagonal stroke to right, κ or μ probable 5].,

the top of a tall upright, φ suitable The middle dot after υν, like the similar middle dot in fr. 1 (b) ii 4, is not accounted for .[, a trace on the line suggesting the base of a circle; in the interlinear space above it a trace compatible either with a letter or a sign 6],, a dot level with the top of the letters compatible with the tip of the right-hand branch of υ 8 Of κ[, only the top and bottom of the upright 11 φ[, represented only by an angular trace off the line

Fr. 2 (b) 1],, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the top of the loop of α 2 It is not certain that the top of any letter in this line would be visible

Fr. 2 (c) 5],, a dot on the line, probably the end of a stroke descending from left 6 .[, the start of a stroke ascending to right, in the interlinear space above it two dots one above the other 7 The interlinear letters resemble a small ο followed by a full-sized υ, not like the υ in l. 5 above and elsewhere but more similar to the writing of the text. The right-hand branch of the presumed υ might by itself be taken for an acute, but it would be rather high and the other traces would then be difficult to explain

Fr. 2 (a)-(c)

If (c) 4-6 are the continuations of (a) 2-4, the conditions would apparently be satisfied by:

κομ[αα]ναδηματα
]αστεκαλ[. π]λειασμυρω
]απαρτυκ[ινα]θεξαν

ιτέ, and apparently ιτέᾱ[ε, suggests to me nothing but the accusative plural of ιτέα, 'willow', but this has a long ι and also presumably a digamma. The short written over the ι may be erroneous, since three consecutive shorts may be suspect, but I cannot estimate the probability of the neglect of digamma.

5 In the context I should incline to guess ἐλέ]φαντιν[.

6 ἀθ]ύρματα seems probable; I cannot rule out ἐλαθ]ύρματα, e.g. ἐλ' ἀθύρματα, but I am not now at all certain that this is an acceptable location of fr. 3 and I do not know why θ should not have been represented by c.

8 παρ]σεισικ[αι, perhaps referred to in παρσενικαι in the lower margin. Hitherto only in grammatical writing (Arcadius).

11 Possibly κεφ[αλα, which is in a way suggested by πόδας.

13 τα]νυσιπτέρ[ο-

Fr. 3 I have believed that I could trace the fibres of the front of this fragment in fr. 2 (a) about ll. 6-7. On the other hand the fibres of the back strongly suggest a location of fr. 3 above the right-hand side of fr. 2 (a)

1 It is not certain that this is the beginning of a line, though there is sufficient room before ε to show at least part of any preceding letter written at the normal interval 2],, apparently the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the top of the loop of α

Fr. 4 The appearance is similar to that of the lower left-hand side of fr. 2 (c) and I believe I trace the front fibres of fr. 4 in fr. 2 (c) about l. 6 but this brings the writing to different levels

Fr. 5 Perhaps from the neighbourhood of fr. 2 (c)

1],, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching α at the top of the loop .[, an upright with a stroke descending to right from its top, μ or υ 2],, perhaps parts of the right-hand arc of ο or ω

Fr. 6

· · ·
] [
·ou·
].ωστ.[
]νο[
].[

Fr. 7 vacant

Fr. 8 vacant

Fr. 6 2], δ or λ .[5,
o, or ω

Fr. 9

· · ·
]εγω[
· · ·

Fr. 10

· · ·
]γγω[
· · ·

Fr. 10 ω anomalous, but ε
no better

Fr. 11

]πολυ[
· · ·

Fr. 12

· · ·
]δε[
].[

Fr. 12 2], the top of a
loop, perhaps β or ρ .[, the
tips of two uprights; perhaps
ι, should be written

Fr. 13

· · ·
]α[
]μα[
]πε[
]εάντ[
5]νμ[
]εκ[
· · ·

Fr. 14

· · ·
].[
]με[
]υ[
· · ·

Fr. 14 probably from the
same region as fr. 1 (b)
i e.g. the feet of π, or two
letters may be represented

2395. LYRIC VERSES

It is not easy to come to a settled opinion about the nature and affinities of the following text. The setting implied in ll. 10-13 is Peloponnesian and there are some Doric features in the dialect, the endings -νάν, l. 9, -τác, l. 10, the accentuation παίδα, l. 11. The last appears to be specifically Laconian, but it is isolated, and the accentuation άγεσθαι, l. 12, which is inconsistent with the same system, throws some doubt on it. In any case, the failure of θυμον, l. 7, εθελων, l. 12, to show the substitution of c for θ by itself forbids one to think of Alcman as author. In fact, the Doric tincture is very slight. Attention is drawn in the notes to other places where it would have been apt to appear. I can make no guess who might treat this subject in this style, but I have not the impression that it is an early writer.

From the paragraphus between ll. 13 and 14 it is to be inferred that the composition was strophic, but I see no correspondences in what is preserved. Nor can I make metrical sense of what is left of the separate verses.

In the only place where I can follow the story—a father is telling of how a Centaur asks for the hand of his daughter (at some feast?) and is refused.

The script is a conventional upright uncial of the 'biblical' type much like 1179, which is assigned to the early part of the third century. Some of the lection signs look as if they might be due to the writer of the text, others and the corrections appear to be secondary. Although it cannot be asserted on the strength of what survives that the manuscript was laid out on the same scale as P. Ryl. 16, the comparison is worth making.

There is some likelihood that we have the beginning of the roll. There is an inch or more of blank papyrus to the left of the writing and in it a joint, which suggests the reinforcement found in that place in other rolls of which the beginnings have survived.

Fr. 1

.

 5] υδξεηλ[. . .]ν[
]ειπεδετου . . .[
]χομα[.]θυμονζ[. . .]
]υτοματοντ[
]ερανναεπι[
 10]ορικοιτάσκενταυρ[
] αϊτεϊδέμεπαϊδατα[
] εθελωνάγεσθαι [
] προσμαλέαν-εμοιδ[
] αεκοντιδ[.]ικροτε[
] α
 15] ασεπιτ λά[.]ιμέγ[.]ά[
] αλλασεγ[. . . .]όντ[.]
] ωσοφέλ[.]αμμυμ[

Fr. 2

]υσιω[
 Blank, space of two lines

Fr. 1 2 . . ., a dot on the line, α rather than ο, followed by the lower end of an upright descending below the line, presumably υ, followed by the top and bottom of a letter apparently consistent with β [, the middle of the left-hand arc of a circle 4], traces compatible with the bottom of ν, but perhaps two letters After [[ω]] the foot of an upright 5 For ε possibly ο [, apparently traces of the upper left-hand arc of a circle 6 After υ the foot of an upright, τ suitable, but by no means exclusively; this is followed by a sign I cannot interpret, perhaps the left-hand side of γ or π, to the right of which are two traces, one near, the other on, the line 9 [, the start of a stroke rising to right; λ rather than δ suggested, but δ not ruled out 14 Above δ a sinuous horizontal sign in greyer ink], an upright with traces of ink to left below its tip; μ apparently most probable, η not ruled out 15 See comm. Before αc the right-hand end of a stroke suggesting the upper arm of κ, hardly υ More than the normal space between τ and λ [[.]], ο or ω; the bottom angle of the superscribed α is touched by the curved tail of a stroke coming from left For χ possibly τ 16 Of εχ only the tops; for χ possibly π], the upper end of a thin stroke slightly above the tops of the letters, perhaps the upper arm of κ or less probably υ [, the left-hand arc of a circle 17], the top of an upright; if ι, two letters lost in the preceding gap

Fr. 2 Perhaps bottom of column

Above υ a trace of ink; not *prima facie* part of an accent, though grave or circumflex could not be declared impossible

Fr. 1 1 θυμῶι seems likely.

2 Apparently]αῖ βῆαι.

6 Presumably εἶπε; εἶξε Alcman fr. 31.

7 ἀχομα[ε] θυμόν perhaps likelier than εἶχ., though ἀχομαι is a very rare word. (Two instances only; *Od.* xviii 256, xix 129.)

θυμόν and, l. 12, ἐθέλων, but κόματος, Thuc. v 77, and ὄσα κέλει, Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 1080; many analogies in MSS. of Alcman.

8 seq. ἀπότοματον . . . ἐραννὰν ἐπὶ δαῖτα (δαίτα): if this is right, and it seems to be strongly suggested by the well-known saying and its variations (e.g. Bacch. fr. 22, Cratin. *Πυλ.* fr. 169 K, Plat. *Symp.* 174 b c. schol., Zenob. Ath. i 15), I cannot account satisfactorily for the ending of ἀπότοματον. It is very unlikely to be adverbial and the context does not suggest that it agrees with the subject of an infinitive.

For ἐραννὰν . . . δαῖτα compare δαῖτ' ἐρατεινῆν, Hom. *Od.* viii 61, xx 117.

10 ὀρικοίτας Κένταυρος: cf. Κενταύροισιν ὀρεσκώοισι Hes. fr. 79, 5.

ὀρι- is a very uncommon element of composition, ὀρει- and ὀρεσ(c)ι- being the normal. ὀριγόνοισι Tim. *Pers.* 88. (The *spelling* ορι- is found in Pind. *paes.* vii a 6 and elsewhere, but not metrically guaranteed.)

11 αἰτεῖ δέ με is no doubt meant, 'he asks me for my daughter in marriage'. But in a Doric text the elaborate accentuation would not have precluded ambiguity: αἰ τεῖδέ με.

παῖδ' ἀταλάν might have been suggested but that elsewhere elision appears to be indicated, as usually in lyric texts.

12 ἐθέλων: see on l. 7.

ἀγεσθαι, 'take as wife', followed, as here, by the place to which, e.g. Hes. *Θεογ.* 410, Hdt. i 59.

The accentuation deducible from MSS. of Alcman would be αγέσθαι. Since there is no point in accenting the word, which is quite unambiguous, unless the accent was *not* where expected, it is more reasonable to suppose that ἀγεσθαι is a mistake for αγέσθαι than παῖδα for παιδα. But the inference is too precarious to base further argument on.

13 πρὸς Μαλέαν: the normal Doric form of the preposition is ποτὶ. (In Alcman fr. 30 read δὴ ποτὶ γ. or ποτὶ δέ cf. γ.) But πρὸς also is found in Alcman (fr. 52).

Chiron and other Centaurs are recorded to have been driven from Thessaly or elsewhere to Malea, the southernmost point of the Peloponnese (Apollod. *bibl.* ii 84-86; Diod. iv 70).

ἐμοί: the Doric form ἐμίν is attested, but neither occurs in Alcman.

14 I have looked for: 'when I decline' he gives signs of his displeasure. But I can make no compound of κροτεῖν out of the ink (nor am I sure that ἐπικροτέων ὀδόντας or the like would contain the required meaning), which suggests to me μικροτεῖρ- more than anything else. If so, it is to be said that μικρός is attested as the Doric form.

15 There is something odd about the first half of this line. The writing is slightly smaller than the norm and there is less space above and below. There is also more than the normal space between τ and λ. This, with the two corrections in the second half, may betoken the copyist's difficulties with his exemplar.

2396. LABEL OF TRYPHON, *Spartan dialect*

This label, like that mentioned in 1091, is a strip of parchment inscribed on its front right-hand side with the title of a book and attached by its under left-hand side to the back ('verso') of the top left-hand corner of the roll to which it applies.

The front ('recto') of the rectangular structure of papyrus strips, which is rolled from right to left to form a roll, consists, as is well known, of sets of strips laid edge to edge parallel to the length of the roll. Since these strips are shorter than the roll, there occurs in every roll a number of places where contiguous sets overlap. I have

nowhere seen it pointed out that the overlap is always so arranged that the ends of the strips on the left cover the beginnings of the strips on the right. Obviously this arrangement was adopted for the convenience of the scribe, to obviate the catching of his reed in the edge which would be presented to it by the contrary arrangement. But it seems to me probable that the rolling of the roll this way up instead of the opposite way was a part not of the scribe's but of the manufacturer's technique, and if so, it follows that the rule that the writing on the front ('recto') of the roll is earlier than the writing (if there is any) on the back ('verso') is absolute. No one in his senses would take the trouble to unroll a roll and re-roll it inside out for the mere pleasure of writing on the wrong side first. The label would be a further deterrent. On the other hand, detached pieces of papyrus are frequently found with writing on the back and blank on the front, and I do not believe anything can be deduced about the relative dates of writing on the back and front of pieces of papyrus of which we can be certain that they did not form part of a roll when they were used.

The writing is of the same type as 211 and I presume may be put in the second century. I have not identified the manuscript to which the title refers among the fragments I have examined but I cannot say that it is not there.

τρυφῶνος [
 τουαμμωνι^ο [
 περιδιαλεκτ^{ου} [
 λακωνων [
 5 τῶνεις^β [

4 Between ν and ω a defective place in the parchment might be read as an α squeezed in between the lines.

5 Above ν there is something which

'Tryphon, son of Ammonius, on the Spartan dialect, in two (?) books. Bk. I (?). If the ink above ν in line 5 is meant for α, πῶτον τῶν εἰς δύο is said for the more usual τῶν εἰς δύο τὸ πῶτον. Otherwise, the number of the book has been omitted.

Suidas in Τρυφῶνος ascribes to this grammarian, among other works, *περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρωι διαλέκτων καὶ Σιμωνίδη καὶ Πινδάρωι καὶ Ἀλκμῶνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις λυρικοῖς* and *περὶ τῆς Ἑλλήνων διαλέκτου καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἰμεραίων καὶ Ῥηγίων καὶ Δωριέων καὶ Συρακουσίων* but the absurdity of these titles shows that they cannot be taken at their face value. A book about the dialect used by an author, say Alcman, might be described alternatively as *περὶ τῆς παρὰ Ἀλκμῶνι διαλέκτου* or *περὶ τῆς Λακῶνων διαλέκτου*. And such a book might form part of a larger work, *περὶ τῆς Δωριέων διαλέκτου*, in which, just as Spartan was illustrated from Alcman, the speeches of Syracuse, Himera, and Rhegium were illustrated from Epicharmus (and the other comedians), Stesichorus, and Ibycus, or, though I should say this was less probable, *περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς λυρικοῖς διαλέκτων*.

It may be inferred from this label that Suidas' words, though they may be correct descriptions of something that Tryphon wrote, are not the names of any work of his.

2397. COMMENTARY ON *Iliad* xvii

It seems possible to discern that the commentary from which the following fragments have survived had resemblances to the scholia extant in the vellum codices but my chief reason for including it is the convenience of displaying the writing in company with 2389.

Fr. 1

· · ·
 · · ·]δαντο [
 · · ·]πορτωδεντ [
 · · ·]μεναων [
 · · ·

Fr. 1 1 [., the lower part of an upright

3 [., an upright, 4 probable

Fr. 1 Perhaps part of a note on xvii 4 (*πόρτακι*). Schol. A, for instance, has τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πόρτις καὶ πόρτις, and πόρτιν δ' ἐν τ[ῶι ' πόρτιος ἢ ἐ βός, ξύλοχον κατά βοσκο]μενάων' (v 162) corresponds to Scholl. B, T, τριχῶς δὲ τὸ ὄνομα παρ' αὐτῶι λέγεται· πόρταξ, ὡς νῦν· πόρτις . . . πόρτις, . . . πόρτιος ἢ ἐ βός.

Fr. 2

Col. i	· · ·	Col. ii	· · ·
			] κα. πε[
			] π[.]πτω[.]
	]ρτ. .		πηουν[
	]θησειν		χηρευς[
	]ωιτησοδυ	5	π.[
	] . . . α[.] . [.] επα		μα[
5	]νπ[.] λεμαιο		τας[.
	]ε[.] αβδον		α[
	]και [
] . . [

Fr. 2 The appearance of the papyrus suggests that it may come from the same neighbourhood as fr. 1

Col. i 8 The upper right-hand arm of κ or χ followed by the top of a circular letter

Fr. 2 Col. i 3 If the Odyssey was mentioned, it was wrongly spelt or divided, but δ δν- is not probable.

5 The Ptolemy most commonly cited in *Iliad* scholia is the Ascalonite.

6 [β]άβδον.

Col. ii 4 Presumably from a note on xvii 36 (*χέρωσας*) but I do not recognize anything here corresponding to the extant scholia.

		Fr. 3 (a)	
Col. i		Col. ii	
	]	μ[
	]ην	κ[
	]πει	τ[
	]φ.[.]ητηπαρ αυ	μ[
5	] ουγαρ υτ[.]ιουν	ου[
	]λησου.[.]ιθη	την.[
	]τρωσιναλλοτιη	τοσα[
	]νωσειτηι...α	τουπα.[
	]μοιοσνικεσσε	θοστωνα[
10	]διοσειντωιπεριαν	τ.δ.γ [
	]ημεσειθυρα	[
	]υναικω	[
	]ετηνεπι	[
	(b)		
].[
15	]ελωιδρυντ.[	].φρο.[
	] .c.νωσπερ [	] [ ]. εχει.[
	] .[.]αγον	[].ι.[.]	
	]γγελλοντι 7	τεεκελευ[.]	

Fr. 3 The interval between (a) and (b) cannot be determined

Col. i 5] or]η 6 After η the foot of an upright with a hook to the left and the lower left-hand arc of a circle Before ι a long-tailed letter preceded at some distance by the foot of an upright, perhaps]κρ 8 Between ι and α perhaps χε or λυ (either anomalous) followed by a trace below the line and another slightly to the right of it level with the tops of the letters 16]αα not satisfactory. The letter before c is represented by what looks most like the right-hand part of μ, that before ν seems to be ο converted to α by the addition of a tail

Fr. 3 9 seqq. *ὅς νείκεσε θεός, ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἱκόντο* is *Il. xxiv 29*. It is evidently quoted here for *μέσσαυλον*, since the words which follow correspond to Schol. A on xvii 112, *ὅτι τὴν κατὰ ἀγρόν ἔπαυλιν μέσσαυλον οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ τὴν μέσσην θύραν τῆς αὐλῆς, τὴν διορίζουσαν τὴν τε γυναικωνίτιν καὶ τὸν ἀνδρῶνα* and those which preceded may well have corresponded to Schol. T *ἀντιπέφρασαι γὰρ τῶι σταθμοῖο* (l. 110).

10 seq. 'ζ >dius in his (book) on the men's quarters'?

		Fr. 4
].[
		]του.[
		]..θοο[
		]τοχερσι[
5]....[

Fr. 4 3 seq. Apparently xvii 481 seq. *Ἀλκιμέδων δὲ β[ο]ηθό[ν] ἄρμ' ἐπορούσας καρπαλίμως μέσσηγα καὶ ἦν[α] λά[ζε]το χερσ[ί]ν.*

Fr. 5

		].ν.[
		]..αυ[
		]τοσι[
		]α.τουπι[
5		]εκυναίζ[
		]..[.]οπ[.]θ[
		]πιθενε[

Fr. 5 2].., ε or c followed by γ or τ 4 Perhaps αητ, but α.ητ, or the like, possible

Fr. 5 5 The lemma, if it is the lemma and not an illustrative quotation, is xvii 520 *ὡς δ' ὅταν δέξῃν ἔχων πέλεκυν αἰζήμιος ἀνήρ, κόψας ἐξόπιθεν κεράων βοός ἀγραύλοιο, ἵνα τάμηι.*

			Fr. 7 (a)
	Fr. 6	Col. i .	Col. ii .
	].ν . . . . .		. . . . .
	]φοροσεστ[	].νε	δονδει τα[
	]. ουκᾱτου[	].την	πειωαταρ[
	]ντιτου[	]αυτον	ακουσας κα[
5	].ερμ[	5]ντιδ[	5 μενοςετυγ[
	]λον[		π[.].]
	].[		α
			τ.ε
			ταδετευχ[
			10 εστρεφεμ[
			ρον[.]κπολεμ[
			]τευχ[
		(b)	
		]ω	
		]οπλατ[
		15]οσηρμοσετω[
		].ιαχιλ[
		]θεσθαι[
		].ι.	
].[

Fr. 6 may come from the left-hand side of fr. 7
 1 After ν the lower left-hand curve of a circle, next traces suggesting ε followed by the lower part of an upright and the lower part of a stroke ascending to the right, e.g. ρχ 5], the tip of an upright, ν rather than, the lower part of an upright
 Fr. 7 (a) Col. ii 1 The lower part of an upright followed by the left-hand arc of a small circle, e.g. το 2 α looks more like λ; εστει might be written, if the top of ε be supposed completely lost
 3 The top of ε lost, τ possible
 (b) The fibres appear to fix the position below the left-hand side of (a) ii but the interval between (a) and (b) cannot be determined 14], the tail of a or λ, perhaps the tip of the loop of a 16]ω possible 17], the foot of an upright
 Fr. 7 (a) col. ii+(b) Ll. 3 seq. contain (parts of) xvii 693 seq. ἀτὰρ τὰ γε τεύχε' ἔχει κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ. ὡς ἔφατ', Ἀντίλοχος δὲ κατέστρυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας, ll. 9-11 (parts of) xvii 698-700 τὰ δὲ τεύχε' ἀμύμονι δάκεν ἑταίρωι, Λαοδόκωι, δε οἱ σχεδὸν ἔστρεφε μώνυχας ἵππους. τὸν μὲν δάκρυ χέοντα πόδες φέρον ἐκ πολέμοιο. Ll. 4 seq. seem to have contained something corresponding to the interpretation of κατέστρυγε in Scholl. A, D, G, and Eustathius. I find nothing extant corresponding to (b), unless it is the statement in Schol. T (and Eustathius) Λαοδόκωι παραδοῦναι τὰ ὄπλα ὅπως δοκῆι . . . Ἀντίλοχος εἶναι. But I may be mistaken about the connexion of fr. 6 and 7 (b) with fr. 7 (a) and fr. 6 may relate to xvii 202 l. 1 εγγ]υε ερχ[εται corresponding to σχεδὸν εἰσι, fr. 7 (b) to xvii 210 (ll. 14 seqq. τ]α ὄπλα . . .

ηρμοσε τω[ι κτλ. corresponding to "Εκτορι δ' ἠρμοσε τεύχε", on which Schol. B has . . . ἀρμόσαι τὰ ὄπλα τῷ "Εκτορι. οὐ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεῖ κτλ.).

			Fr. 8
		
			]φα[
			]δο[.]κα[
			]νεξηγγελεναχιλλε[
			]πεζοερευιτιεν[
5			5]ρεισθ[.]νν[.]ν[.]
			]ο[

Fr. 8 1], the bottom left-hand curve of ε, θ, ο, ς 3], the right-hand arc of a circle, off the line; ο not particularly suggested], the left-hand side of a circular letter 4], the upper part of an upright above the level of the letters Perhaps αρχ], but the surface is damaged
 Fr. 8 Perhaps part of the commentary corresponding to what is found in the extant scholia on xvii 700. The appearance of the papyrus is consonant with this possibility.

	Fr. 9	Fr. 12
	]εγομενη[	]αναπα[
	]εν α[	]ο . νεσ[
	].[	]ναλ . οστο[
		]λουτου[
		5]
	Fr. 10	Fr. 12 2 χε possible 3 For λ. perhaps a single μ
	]ωι αριστου[
	]ρονμετοδ[	Fr. 13
	]επιλιον[	]φ[
		]ερο[
]
	Fr. 10 1], γ or τ 3], perhaps ν rather than ι	]ην[
		5] . . . τ[
	Fr. 11	]ποσσαεσθ[
	]βωι[	]ωσαπολε[
	]γτουη[	]αλε[
	]νωσ[].
].	
	Fr. 11 2], an upright	Fr. 13 1], the left-hand side of a circular letter 8], δ, λ, or the like 9], β, ρ, ο, or the like

Fr. 14 (a)

]τωνκ...[
]κριδοσερ.α.[
]σιμ.τωνπα[
]ναανονομ[
 5]τιωνδ[...][π[
]συγκειμ[
 (b)]..[|]ενα[
]ν..[
]ατον.[

Fr. 15

],[
].συγγ.[
]κυπρον[
].ρο.[...][
 5]ολις.[
].τευκρουης[
]μενοσανειη[
]σηνπτολιεθρο[
]υβοιαθηνα[
 10]ησινειστηνκυ[

Fr. 14 (a) 1 The dotted letters are too rubbed to be certainly verifiable; after κ probably α or λ, then a dot on the line, then traces compatible with λι² Between ρ and α an upright 3 After μ an upright; η suggested by the spacing 4 close to the edge, but not apparently ν

(b) The position below the right-hand side of (a) seems assured, but it is not likely that (a) 7 and (b) 1 formed part of the same line

Fr. 15 Though there is no doubt that the same copyist wrote it, there is a recognizable difference between the script of the lower lines of this fragment and that of fr. 1-14

2], an upright 3 the lower left-hand curve of ε or the like 4], the top of a tall upright, probably φ After ο an upright, perhaps ν more likely than ι 5], the base curve of ο, β, or the like; γφ might be possible 6], the surface is damaged and the present appearance of the ink deceptive There is unexplained ink like the tail of an unusually long downstroke between τε, but ρ in l. 5 cannot be ρ or φ

Fr. 14 2 This appears to be Callim. *hy.* 1, 50 Πανακριδος έργα μ[ελισσης. I see no connexion with xvii.

Fr. 15 The connexion of Teucer with Cyprus is not mentioned by Homer. L. 8 contains a quotation of *Iliad* xviii 512 = xxii 121 but the next line seems to be Eur. *Ion* 294 (quoted by Strabo 356, Schol. Aristoph. *Eip.* 250, for πόλις in the sense of χώρα). Again, no obvious relevance to xvii.

2398. CALLIMACHUS, *Hecale*

The recovery of the beginnings of the verses of which so large a part was preserved in 2217 resolves the problems presented by 2217 8-11 on lines very different from those on which they were attacked. This is not an encouragement to embark on the conjectural supplementation of 2217 4-6 of which, even with the new additions, still less is known.

The identification of fr. 260, 46, already suspected, is now pretty certainly verified. An anchorage is found for fr. 346. From such exiguous material this is no bad harvest.

The text is written (on two scraps which I cannot join) on the back of a document, in which figures and a mention of baked brick can be recognized, in a decent but by no means handsome hand with an occasional cursive form, comparable with 211, 220, which may be assigned to the first half of the second century. There are no lection signs.

	.].στεριμ[	γ]αστέρι μ[οῦνον ἔχοιμι κακῆς ἀλκτῆρια λιμοῦ
	.].δουμεχ[	.].δου μεχ[
	.].λλεκαλ[	ἀ]λλ' εκαλ[]ι.ελει[
	.].δ.ακ[	.].δ.ακ[]ι.νον π[
5	]ριμν[	καὶ κ]ρίμν[ον]κυκεῶνο]ς ἀποστάξαντος ἔραζε
	.].μησ[	.].λμησ[]ι.ουτις ἐπέσσειται[
	....]θων[	....]θων[]ι.ι] κακάγγελον· εἶθε γάρ[
	.].[	.].] ]ζώουσα κατὰ χρόνον ὄφρατ[]ησ[
	.].σθρ[	ὧς Θρ[ιαὶ τὴν]γρηῦ]ν ἐπιπνεῖουσι κορώνην.
10	.].αιμ..[	γαὶ μὰ τ[όν,]]οῦ γάρ [π]ω πάντ' ἤματα, ναὶ [μ]ὰ τὸ ρικνόν[
	]κυφαρεμο..[	κύφαρ ἐμόν, ναὶ το]ῦτο τὸ δένδρ[ισον αἶον ἐόν περ,]
	]ουκηδ..μον[	οὐκ ἤδη ρ]ιμόν[τε κ[α]ἰ ἄξονα καυάξαντες]
	.].λοιδου[.].εω[	ἠέλοι δου[]μέων εἴσω πόδα πάντες ἔχουσι,]
	ἰ]ελοσα.λη[	δ]είλος ἀλλ']ῆ [ν]ῆς ἢ ἔνδιος ἢ ἔσει' ἠώς[
15	]υτε...[.].[	ε]ῦτε κόρ[α]ξ, δε[]ν]ῦν γε καὶ ἄν, κύκνοιεν ἐρί]ζοι
	]γαλα[]ο[	καὶ γάλα[κι χρ]ο[ι]ῆ]ν]καὶ κύματος] ἄκρωι ἀώ]τωι,
	]νε[	κνύ]με[ον κτλ.

Parts of the text are preserved also in 2217 (indicated by half-brackets) and P. Rain. vi (Callim. fr. 260 Pf.)

1 Callim. fr. 346 4 Though I see traces of only four letters before α , it seems likely that there cannot have been fewer than five. The first is represented only by a short stroke, rising left to right, level with the tops of the letters, the next by parts of a cross-stroke and an upright descending from it, compatible with τ and, I suppose, γ and π (of the second of which there is no, of the first no comparable, specimen); if τ or γ , there is room for a narrow letter between it and δ . For δ I cannot rule out λ ; between this and α there is an indeterminate trace at about mid-letter 5 Fr. 260, 46 6 Of λ only the tail; α not ruled out 8] μ appears to be no likelier than η ; of either one would expect to see something of the right-hand upright 9 Of ω only the lower right-hand arc; its appearance is anomalous but this may be owing to damage 10], two traces which may be the top and lower part of an upright [a trace on the line followed at some distance by an upright; no doubt fr. 35, though I cannot verify it [π] ω Lloyd-Jones 11 After ρ scattered traces which I cannot relate to the known letters 12 η is unusually narrow, there is more than the usual space between it and ρ , the space between ρ and μ seems too little for ν and the scanty traces do not suggest it, but I see no alternative combination 13 η is not particularly suggested, but the very slight trace does not particularly suggest any letter of the hand ϵ is represented only by what may be parts of the upper and lower left-hand side Of μ only the right-hand curve of the left-hand half 15 The traces after $\tau\epsilon$ are reconcilable with the known letters but I do not think would naturally be taken to represent them

2 seq. η] δ σ seems likely. If η refers to $\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$, the next verse might begin $\delta\lambda\lambda'$ 'Εκάλ[η ; if to Hecale, $\delta\lambda\lambda'$ $\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\epsilon$ or the like.

8 I doubt $\kappa\epsilon\iota\eta\mu\iota$, for which there does not appear to be room.

10 seqq. $\nu\alpha\iota$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ should introduce a positive asseveration, but in strict grammar there is none available, the effect of $\delta\lambda\lambda(\acute{\alpha})$, l. 14, being to bring its clause into the parenthesis beginning with $\sigma\upsilon$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, l. 10. Since there is no doubt that the sense to be recognized is 'of a surety . . . the hour will come', it must be presumed that $\delta\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ is illogically inserted by way of emphasizing the opposition between what is denied and what is affirmed.

The contents of the parenthesis were seen by Mr. H. Lloyd-Jones to be an equivalent way of saying, 'time has not yet come to an end'. 'For not yet for ever . . . not already having smashed pole and axle do all the suns have their foot inside their setting-places.' A less contorted expression of much the same notion may be seen at Theoc. xvi 71 seq.

$\eta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$. . . $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$: the meaning is precisely rendered by the phrase in an utterance of Philip of Macedon reported by Livy xxxix 26, (nondum) omnium dierum solem (occidisse). (The same utterance as reported by Diodorus xxix 16 seems to me to say something different, 'they had not yet seen all the sun go down', quite got to the end of the day. Both passages are adduced by Gow on Theoc. i 102, where I think $\pi\alpha\nu\theta'$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ is ambiguous. If it means 'all the sun', the Diodorus passage would be comparable; if it means 'every sun', it would differ from what Callimachus is saying as 'my last day' differs from 'the Last Day'.)

$\delta\upsilon\kappa\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\omega$: as may be seen from the references collected by Pfeiffer ad loc., $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$. . . $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ and similar expressions are not infrequent with the meaning 'be (get) clear of' a situation. Examples of the opposite notion, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\omega$. . . $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$, 'be involved in', appear not to be found elsewhere—the nearest is Eur. *Heracled.* 168—and $\delta\upsilon\kappa\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ has not the same connotation of predicament as the nouns employed with $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$ and the like.

2399. ANONYMOUS (DURIS?), SICILY UNDER AGATHOCLES 99

2399. ANONYMOUS (DURIS?), HISTORY OF SICILY UNDER AGATHOCLES

Height 16.5 cm.

First century B.C.

Plate

Of this text parts of four columns, including the top margin of one, survive in or can be satisfactorily combined with one single continuous fragment, and there are six unplaced scraps. How many lines, if any, are missing at the foot of the surviving columns is not known. Probably they are not many, for the longest column runs to 27 lines and a height of 16.5 cm. Lines vary in length between 12 and 18 letters, 14–15 being the number most frequently found. The hand is clear and square but somewhat ill controlled. The thickly cut pen, and the prominent rectangular or oblique finishing strokes at the feet of letters as well as the mainly horizontal finials or link-strokes at their head give it a mannered and ugly look. μ is made in four strokes, with a deep centre, ν has its second and third members raised above the line, σ and ρ are placed relatively high in the line. Comparison with the hand of P. Ryl. iv 586 of 99 B.C. and the literary hand of P. Graec. Berolin. 11 a allows the text to be assigned confidently to the first century B.C. The scribe's lack of skill is shown by his crowding, in small letters, at the end of a line syllables that would have been better placed in the following line. He uses iota adscript throughout, and his only punctuation is the paragraphus which serves to divide cola inside sentences as well as to close periods. There is a single diplē in the margin between cols. i and ii.

In the first column an attack by Carthaginians on Albus Tunes which harassed Agathocles is described. The rest of the piece, including the fragments, is devoted to a vivid account of an incident in Syracuse. It relates how one Diognetus, a creature of Hamilcar and the Syracusan exiles, attempted to start a riot in the city by haranguing the astonished citizens from the platform in the assembly, and his treatment by Antander (the brother of Agathocles).

Neither the incident nor the personality of Diognetus is known to us from any other source. Nevertheless with the help of Diodorus (who, with Justin, is the only authority who gives any continuous narrative of Sicilian history at this period) these events may be located with some confidence in the autumn of 310 B.C. The tense situation in Syracuse, the mention of Hamilcar and the exiles (l. 37, cf. Diod. xx 15, 3; ll. 95–96), the easiest restorations of ll. 26–32, and the deliberations $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (ll. 43–45) suggest that the impact of war on the city had only recently begun. This is the kind of situation depicted for autumn 310 B.C. in Diod. xx 15–16. Diodorus elects to describe the moment after Agathocles' landing in Africa and victory over Hanno and Bomilcar, before this news has reached Syracuse. Hamilcar in Sicily is attempting to exploit the despondency in the city caused by rumours of the annihilation of Agathocles' force. Antander is on the point of surrendering, but is forestalled by Erymnon the Aetolian who puts the defences in order. Eight thousand new fugitives, relatives and friends of those formerly in exile, join the

refugees on the Carthaginian side. If cols. ii seqq. describe events in Syracuse of that autumn, col. i should refer to an incident at Agathocles' camp at White Tunis during the same period, that is, after his resounding victory. Now at just this time there are two accounts, in Diod. xx 17, 2-4 and 18, 1-2, of Carthaginian assaults on the Syracusan encampment at Tunes. But neither of these attacks can be identified satisfactorily with that in the papyrus. In both accounts in Diodorus Agathocles is represented as absent when the attacks are launched, in both it is a triumphant stratagem which brings him back; in the papyrus the phrase το[ῖς] περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα (ll. 9-11) implies the presence of Agathocles in person at Albus Tunes, and he seems not to be having the best of the exchanges. Nevertheless there is a hint in Diod. xx 18, 3 of a sequence of events which conforms to that of the papyrus: οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς ἐκ Σικελίας προσγενομένης βοήθειας καὶ τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην συμμάχων συναγωνιζομένων ἐδόκουν ὑπερέχειν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα· τούτου δὲ τοῦ προτερήματος γενομένου πάλιν συνεστάλη τὰ φρονήματα τῶν βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ Ἐλύμαν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Λιβύων ἀποστάτην γενόμενον ἐνίκησε μάχη κτλ. These sentences imply a Carthaginian attack which was directed against Agathocles in person, and which enjoyed sufficient success to cause Agathocles' Libyan allies to desert him, which is precisely the situation described in the first column of the papyrus. In view of the possibility that the attacks described in chapters 17 and 18 are two accounts of the same event and Diodorus' notoriously confused head for military matters this location seems satisfying. It is perhaps also worth noting the occurrence of the word προνομεύω in Diod. c. 18, 2 and papyrus l. 16. It seems therefore that Diodorus, while hinting at the development of the military situation in Africa, suppressed entirely the scene in the assembly described in cols. ii seqq. of the papyrus. This scene is no doubt later in time than the discussion of Erymnnon and Antander which Diodorus did choose to describe, and which he may have thought a sufficient account of the state of morale in Syracuse.

It is perhaps worth adding that two alternative hypotheses for the location of the papyrus narrative have been examined and rejected. On the first of these, these events would be located in 307 B.C. This hypothesis obtains some plausibility from the apparent similarity of the military situation to that described in Diod. xx 59 seqq. Agathocles returned in that year from Sicily to assist his son Archagathus against vigorous and successful Carthaginian countermeasures, which included dispersing their forces, cutting the Greek communications (c. 61, 3), and confining Archagathus to Tunes; while when his father returned, his Libyan allies were prevailed on to abandon him. There is nothing, however, in the known domestic history of Syracuse at this later date that can be reconciled with the events of cols. ii seqq. of the papyrus, and the mention in ll. 34-39 of Hamilcar in a way that presupposes him alive and not three years dead is a fatal obstacle to it. On the second hypothesis the restorations of col. i should be so managed as to make the Syracusans, not the Carthaginians, the

subject of the verbs. In that case the narrative might be made to square almost exactly with Diodorus' chap. 17 and 18, even to the subject of ὀχυρωσάμενοι ll. 7-8; cf. Diod. 17, 1 παρεμβολὴν δὲ πλησίον τοῦ Τύννητος ὀχυρωσάμενος (sc. ὁ Ἀγαθοκλῆς). But the linguistic, stylistic, and factual difficulties involved seem to me insuperable (see note on l. 1).

Suggestions for the authorship of these fragments must be made with caution, for none of the historians who are known to have dealt with this period and subject survives except in exiguous fragments. Of one of them, the Antander who is mentioned in the papyrus, it is known that he wrote a history of his brother's reign only because he is quoted as evidence for the age of his brother at his death (Jacoby, *Fragm. Gr. Hist.* iii B 565). Of the twenty-two books of Callias, Agathocles' personal historian, seven fragments survive (*Fr. Gr. Hist.* iii B 564), useless for any judgement. Now the papyrus narrative may be the work of one of these unknowns, but it is more likely that it is the work of a more famous name. Two such are to be taken seriously into account. The first is that of Timaeus of Tauromenium (*Fr. Gr. Hist.* iii B 566). He can, however, be ruled out from the start, for he was an exile and a bitter personal enemy of Agathocles, and therefore unlikely to have coupled exiles and Carthaginians in terms so disparaging as those of ll. 36 seqq., or to have displayed Antander in so relatively mild a light. Moreover, the stylistic features and vocabulary of the papyrus are not such as to justify the praise bestowed by Cicero on his style (*Fr. Gr. Hist.* iii B 566, T 20, 21). The second candidate for consideration is Duris of Samos, who devoted a separate work in four or more books to Agathocles. In favour of the attribution to Duris there are two arguments. The first is that since Roesiger wrote in 1874 Duris has been accepted as the main source of Diodorus' narrative of the history of Agathocles (a restatement of the arguments is given by E. Schwartz in *RE* v, cols. 687 seqq.), and it has already been shown that Diodorus could have summarized (though unintelligently) col. i of the papyrus.¹ The second argument is the general style of the author of the papyrus. He aims at graphic and vivid description which will recreate the scene for his hearers, and his picture of the assembly suits well what one imagines to have been Duris' own manner of writing from the latter's criticism of his predecessors, especially Ephorus and Theopompus (*Fr. Gr. Hist.* ii A 76, F 1), or from Plutarch's sneer at his tragic mannerisms and his elevation of narrative brilliance (*διήγησις*) above truth (ibid. 78). The journalistic effectiveness of the papyrus is assisted by the use of popular phrases (*φαλαίσιος*, l. 35 n.) and by the analysis of crowd reactions in a Tacitean manner. Syntactically the most noticeable feature of the papyrus is the stringing together of participles and genitive absolutes to build up a circumstantial picture. In col. ii, ll. 32-52 there are six such participial phrases and the main verb has not been reached by the foot of the column; in col. iii, ll. 60 seqq. there are five participles in genitive absolute construction before the subject,

¹ See addendum p. 106.

itself introduced by a participle, is introduced, the principal verbs being then further split antithetically and participially extended. This syntactical method appears in other surviving fragments of Duris, e.g. F 10. In diction the papyrus is not squeamish or fastidious: it uses the common Hellenistic crases, e.g. l. 62 τάνδρος (cf. also ll. 17, 78), does not avoid the form εἰδῆσαι (l. 78), has the common Hellenistic fondness for verbs compounded with two prepositions, some of them rare (προανακρούεσθαι l. 46), and uses groupings (καταλαβέσθαι τὸν λόφον 3, λόγους διατίθεσθαι 59, ἀφασίαι συνεσχῆσθαι 67-68) and constructions (προνομεύειν with accusative 17, ἐπιθορυβεῖν with accusative 63) frequent in the koine. In all these points the papyrus would no doubt come under the same omnibus censure as Dionysius of Halicarnassus metes out (T 10) to Duris and Phylarchus and Polybius and several other Hellenistic historians, though not to Timaeus, that they did not understand δεξιῶς συντιθέναι τὰ ὀνόματα, and none of Dionysius' contemporaries could bear to read them through. The case for Duris' authorship is therefore prima facie attractive. But it must fall short of proof.

If Duris is accepted as the author of this narrative, the papyrus provides a striking illustration of the weaknesses of Diodorus' method. 'Excerpting', wrote E. Schwartz in *RE*, l.c., 'destroys fine shades and connexions more than can at present be realized.'

I should like to express thanks to Professor T. S. Brown and Mr. J. B. Hainsworth for suggestions made during discussion of this text.

	Col. i		[ναμει] στρατευσαν-
	One line lost		[τες ε]πι τους ανω
	.....]...α	20	[] . αφιστασαν
	.....] μεν κατε-		[] υτους απο των
	[λαβο]ντο τον λοφον		[Ελλην]ων και παλιν
5	[τον α]ντικειμενον		[δυναμι]ν αυτων συμ-
	[τωι Α]ευκωι Τυμητι		[μαχιδα] συνηγον του
	[και τ]ο υτον οχυρω-	25	[δε πολε]μου περι ..[.]
	[σαμε]ν οι πολλα πρα-		[] συ]νεστωτος .[
	[γματα] π αρειχον το-		
10	[ις πε]ρι τ ον Αγαθο-		Col. ii
	[κλεα] των δ οδων		One line lost
	[της ες] Νεαν πολιν		[...]. υς[.....] οι [δ]ε
	[και τω]ν προς εω το-		Ξυρακου[ο]ι[το] πληθος
	[υτους] ειργοντες και	30	ουκ αξιομαχ[ο]ν εχον-
15	[πασα]ν τη[ν] πλησιον		τες αυτην [τ]ην πο-
	[χωραν] προνομευον-		λιν ετηρουν τοιαν-
	[τες αμαχ]ει ταλλι δυ-		της δε της καταστασε-

	ως ουσης Δι[ο]γνητος	πολλων αφασιαι τινη
35	> ο φαλαινιος επικαλου-	συνεσχημενων και
	μενος διεφθαρμενος	διευλαβουμενων μη
	υπ Αμιλκου και των	70 τις ηι κινησις περι
	φυγαδων και πα-	την πολιν αναστας
	ρεσκευασμενος αν	Αντανδρος ενε-
40	δυνηται μεταστη-	χειρησεν μεν του Δι-
	σαι την πολιν εκκλη-	ογητον εκ της εκ-
	σιαζοντων των Συ-	75 κλησιας απαγαγειν
	ρακοσιων υπερ του	κατασχων δ αυτον
	πολεμου του παρε-	και βουλομενος προ-
45	στωτος εξαιφνης	τερον ειδησαι ταπο
	αναστας και προανα-	των ανθρωπ[ων
	κρουσαμενος επι	
	του βηματος οτι βου-	Col. iv
	λεται περι των συμ-	One line lost
50	φεροντων διαλεχθη-	
	ναι τωι δημωι και	σ[
	[τω]ν ανθρωπ[ων των] πε | [ρι]	τω[
		α.[
		επ[
	Col. iii	85 [
	.....]. κε[[
	.....] αιτης[...]. α.[	υπο[...]. [
55	.....] .αλλαξ[.] και	[
	....] ουτων .[...]. ει	[
	[...]. τε συνεσ[τωτ]ας	90 [
	[.]τος παρην κ[αι] λο-	αποκατε[
	γους πλειους διετιθε-	[.]μαπεσε.[
60	το των δ ανθρωπων	[.]ησαντω[ν δε των πο-]
	καταπεπληγμενων	λιτων προσπα[
	επι τηι τανδρος τολ-	75 κατηγορησεν με[ν Αμιλ-]
	μη και των μεν ε[πι]	κου και της περ[ι] αυτ[ον]
	θορυβουντων αυτογ	ωμοτητος διεβαλ[λε]
65	τω[ν] δε κελουοντων	δε τον Διογητον [ως]
	λεγειν ετι δε τω[ν]	ου[τα] ταραχωδη κα[ι]

100	[...] τωι ε.[	Col. v	. . . . .
	[		... ] ησε. . [
	[		] τα τ[ο]ν Διο[γνητον
	[		] εγνω προ.[
	ροις τα[	110	] προσαγαγω[ν
105	τ[...] τυχο[		Συ]ρακουσσαις κ[
	. [. . .] γ[		π]ολιορκιαν υ[
			] συστησας [
			] ε. [

Fragments

i	ii
. . . [	] νεξε
ανα]στας[	] ο πλη
] νεβου[	] επε
το]ν Διογ[νητον	
5] καθυσ[τερ	
] ει. [. .] [
	v
	] ετω[
iii . . . . .	] γτ[
] υς μεν	] λε. [
] πεμψαν	
] κα[]	
] ον τοις	
5] τειχη	vi
] εφω	.] ως[
	] ενυ[
	] επε[
iv . . . . .	] . νιπ[
] γρ. [	5] . . . [

... (some) seized the ridge overlooking Albus Tunes, fortified it, and caused much trouble to Agathocles and his men. They barred them from the roads, both that leading to Neapolis and those which led eastwards; and without having to fight, they foraged over the whole of the neighbouring countryside, and with the rest of their force made an expedition against the inland population and detached them too from the Greeks, and once again assembled a force of them as allies. Now as the war gained strength . . .

... while the Syracusans, since their common people were unfitted for war, set a guard on the city itself. Such being the state of affairs, Diognetus surnamed Phalaenius, who had been corrupted by Hamilcar and the exiles, and hired to bring the city over if he could, suddenly stood up in the midst of the assembly while the Syracusans were deliberating about the war in progress, precluding his remarks on the platform by saying that he wished to speak to the populace about their interests and about the men associated with . . . [to reconcile] . . . [conspirators] . . . was himself present and delivered a long address. While men were aghast at the fellow's audacity, some of them trying to shout him down, others again bidding him speak, the majority, however, being held in the grip of speechlessness and playing safe lest there might arise some disturbance in the city, Antander rose and arranged his removal from the assembly. After securing him, wishing first to find out information about the men who . . .

'made accusations against Hamilcar and his cruelty and attacked Diognetus as a trouble-maker . . .'

Col. i A strip has been lost on the left-hand side equivalent to about four letters at the top and more towards the foot, where the writing probably shared the common tendency, seen also in the other columns of this text, to begin progressively farther over to the left. Between ll. 7 and 10 there is a bad patch of papyrus which the scribe seems to have deliberately avoided.

The suggestion, glanced at in the Introduction, to make Agathocles and his soldiers the subject of the verbs in this column could be achieved by restoring ll. 8-11 πολλά πράγματα παρείχοντο [οἱ πε]ρί τὸν Ἀγαθο[κλέα], and, at the beginning of l. 22 [βαρβάρ]ων or [Φοινίκ]ων instead of [Ἑλλή]ων. It is scarcely tolerable, however, to postpone to such a point the subject of a sentence that begins with a principal verb, especially if the hypothesis that it begins with μέν is right; the Greek for 'to cause trouble' is πράγματα παρέχειν, not παρέχεσθαι, and the phrase badly needs an expressed indirect object. Moreover the restoration το[ύτους] in l. 14 is acceptable if it picks up a reference to τοῖς περὶ τὸν Α., but is otherwise without reference. On a question of fact, the λόφος does not suit the Greek camp in Diodorus' account. Agathocles is said to camp (xx. c. 8) ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, (c. 17) παρεμβολὴν πλησίον τοῦ Τύνητος ὀχυρωσάμενος, while the Carthaginians in their attack (c. 17, 2) τῆς μὲν Ἀγαθοκλέους στρατοπέδειας ἐκυρίευσαν, τῇ πόλει δὲ μηχανὰς προσαγαγόντες συνεχεῖς προσβολὰς ἐποιούοντο. This last consideration apart, stylistic considerations seem absolutely to require the restoration πράγματα παρείχον το[ῖς πε]ρί τὸν Α.; and once this is granted, the subject of the other verbs must also be 'the Carthaginians'.

3 μ of μέν is very uncertainly read. For καταλαμβάνομαι λόφον cf., e.g., Polyb. 1, 19, 5, Diod. xx 10, 6; 39, 5.

6 The scribe has written Τύμητι for Τύνητι, probably by mere error. Λευκὸς Τύνης (Albus Tunes) is placed 2,000 stades from Carthage by Diod. xx 8, 7, yet in c. 17, 5 its besiegers flee in panic into Carthage. The site of modern Tunis, 14 miles west of Carthage, is generally agreed to be the only possible position for it. Cf. *RE* s.v. Tunis; H. J. W. Tillyard, *Agathocles*, p. 109.

11 seqq. Νέα πόλις is implied by Diod. xx 17, 1 to be an ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ κειμένη πόλις, in c. 44, 1 the name is mentioned as that of a suburb of Carthage. Tillyard, p. 123 (cf. Windberg in *RE* s.v. Neapolis 26), identifies it with Nabel in the bay of Hammamet. If the Carthaginian suburb is meant here, the roads πρὸς ἔω are presumably the roads into the Cape Bon peninsula and to Hadrumetum; if Νέα πόλις is Nabel, the other roads are presumably those leading to Carthage. In either case Agathocles would have been prevented from moving north-east and south-east from Tunis. The ban on movement in the latter direction would not only hinder access to the Gulf of Sousse, but also stop supplies from the rich (Diod. xx c. 8) area of Megale polis in the Cape Bon peninsula, while the Carthaginians could forage in this area without fighting.

16 προνομεύω: cf. Diod. xx 18, 2 (Agathocles) προσέπεισεν . . . τοῖς τε προνομεύουσι τὴν χώραν.

17 The first visible letter is part of ε rather than η (ἡη might suggest πάση). ἀμαχ]εῖ exempli gratia.

20 It is tempting to restore ἐ]πὶ τοὺς ἄνω | [τόπους, cf. Diod. xx 17, 6 (Agathocles) εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους τῆς Λιβύης διανοεῖτο στρατεύειν. The trace before ἀφίστασαν, however, is upright, not rounded, and appears to be part of ι or ν rather than σ. It suggests, e.g., συ]μαφίστασαν or even κα] ἀφίστασαν. In the former case one might suggest, e.g., στρατεύσαν]τες ἐ]πὶ τοὺς ἄνω[τέρω (or ἄνωθεν) συ]μαφίστασαν [καὶ το]ύτους ἀπὸ τῶν [Ἑλλή]ων.

26 ε]ρεστῶτος is an alternative restoration.

Col. ii 35 φαλαίνιος, a coinage from φάλαινα 'a whale' (a term applied to Cleon in Aristoph. *Wasps* 35, 39), because of his great intake.

36 The meaning of the marginal diplē is unknown. For other examples of its use in prose texts see 2101 and P. Hawara 15 (both Xenophon), 1241 v 5, etc. (Miscellany), 1248 115 and 2102 iii 1 (both Plato), P. Ryl. 55, 33 (Herodotus). Of its use in Platonic texts Diog. Laert. iii 66 says διπλή πρὸς τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὰ ἀρέσκοτα Πλάτωνι.

46 προανακρουσάμενος: the single compound ἀνακρούομαι is used in this sense by Polyb. iv 22, 11.

Col iii 54 e.g. ἀπ]αυτήσ[αντ]ας.

55 Probably some part of a compound of ἀλλάσσω is to be recognized (e.g. κα]ταλλάξ[αι]).

58-59 These verbs should probably be regarded as giving the content of Diognetus' harangue in the assembly, namely that he had been present at a meeting of conspirators or would-be negotiators (cf. τῶν ἀνθρώπων ll. 52 and 79) and had addressed them. For λόγους διατίθεσθαι cf., e.g., Polyb. iii 111, 6, Diod. xii 17, 5.

78 The first aorist infinitive εἰδῆσαι is cited by LSJ from the Ionic of Hippocrates, from Aristotle, *EN* 1156^b27 and Theophrastus *Characters*, Proem. 4. Mayser, *Grammatik d. gr. Papyri* I² ii p. 145 offers four examples from Ptolemaic papyri.

Col. iv 91 Possibly ἀποκατέ[στυσε (ὡστε μῆ?) | δ]ιαπεισε[ν. θορυ|β]ησάντω[ν (or ἐπαι|ν]ησάντω[ν] δέ κτλ.

94 πρὸς πάντας?

96 τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁμιλίας: for the periphrastic phrase with περὶ = 'and his', cf. Isocr. 4, 179 τὴν τε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμίαν γεγενημένην; Plato, *Phaedrus* 279 a οἱ περὶ Λυσίαν λόγοι = 'the speeches of L.'; Xenophon, *Hell.* 5, 4, 2 διαπυθόμενος . . . τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα; Diod. xx 79, 2 (Deinocrates) τῆ ἡγεμονία τῆ τότε οὔση περὶ αὐτὸν εὐηρεστείτο.

Col. v The fragment is detached from the main piece, but a continued set of horizontal fibres can be traced which suggests that l. 107 should be placed level with l. 89.

Fragm. i: could just possibly be attached at the foot of col. iv, but the join thus made is not very convincing.

Addendum: Lexical coincidences support the argument that 2399 is a source of Diodorus. Note ἀξιόμαχος, Diod. xx 7, 5; προνομεῖν, 18. 2; ἐγχειρεῖν with infinitive, 31. 3; δειλιά συνεσχημένος. 34. 4. I owe one or two suggestions also to Dr. P. Maas and Mr. E. A. Barber.

2400. SUBJECTS FOR DECLAMATIONS

8.5 x 11.5 cm.

Third century.

The eighteen lines of this text, written without punctuation in a not very well-executed third-century hand of the common angular type on the verso of a tax-register of the late second century, list ὑποθέσεις for rhetorical μελέται. Each topic is set out as a grammatical sentence: first the name of an historical or literary personage, then an aorist participle recording an action of that personage, followed by a verb in the present indicative. If the declamation is to be forensic, the verb is one of accusation, the subject of the charge is put in the genitive case, and the time-framework for the declamation may be expressed in one or more genitives absolute; if it is to be symbouleutic or epideictic, the verb may be more general. The aorist participle records a well-authenticated action of the personage in question, the succeeding finite verb puts him in an imaginary situation. There is an exact parallel for this manner of stating the subject of a μελέτη in Libanius, *Declamatio xxiii ἐκδοθεῖς Φιλίππῳ Δημοσθένης καὶ ἀφεθείς μὴ πολιτευόμενος κρίνεται δημοσίᾳ*.

The topics mentioned in the papyrus may represent the stock in trade of a travelling rhetor, or may have been copied from a standard list. Including, as they do, an accusation of Cleon for his notorious proposal of 428 B.C. to put to death the male population of Mytilene, and a prosecution or defence of Euripides on a charge of impiety, as well as the commoner topics connected with Alexander the Great, they are a reminder of the fidelity of the schoolmasters of third-century Oxyrhynchus to their classical heritage.

I am grateful to Professor A. W. Beare of Bristol University for suggestions which led to the recognition of the nature of this text.

..κ[.].α[. . . .].[.].α[
 Κλεωνα γρα[ψ]αντα
 αποκτειναι Μιτυλη-
 ναιων τους ηβωντας
 5 γραφοντε δημοκοπιου
 αντιποντος Διοδοτου
 και μηκετι αναιρεθεν-
 των των παρα Μιτυλη-
 ναισις ακμαζοντων
 10 Ευρειπιδης Ηρακλεα
 μαινομενον εν Διο-
 νυσοις ποιησας εν δρα-
 ματι κρινεται ασεβει-
 ας Α(λε)ξανδρ[ο]ς Θηβας κα-
 15 τασκαψας διδ[ωσ]ιν Αθη-
 ναισις την γ[ην] γεωρ-
 γειν Δημαδη[ς] συμβου-
 λευει λα. . . . μ. . . .
].[]..[

5 l. γράφονται

6 l. αντίποντος

10 l. Ευριπίδης

'For proposing to put to death the male population of Mytilene Cleon is accused of demagogy, the moment being after Diodotus has spoken against him but before the persons of adult age in Mytilene have been executed. For showing Heracles going mad in a play at the Dionysia Euripides is put on trial for impiety. After he has sacked Thebes Alexander offers their land to the Athenians to cultivate. Demades counsels . . .'

1 At end perhaps]μ[τ]α[ι, less probably]ε[τ]α[ι or]σ[θ]α[ι.

3 Μιτυληναίων. The spelling Μιτυλ- replaces Μυτιλ- at about 300 B.C. (R. Herbst in *RE* s.v.), and is frequent in the medieval codices.

4 ἡβώντας: Thuc. iii 36, 2 ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς οὐ τοὺς παρόντας μόνον ἀποκτείνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἅπαντας Μιτυληναίους ἄσαι ἡβῶσι. It would hardly be possible to compose this μελέτη without reading Thucydides.

5 δημοκόπιον neuter does not occur elsewhere. The first citation for δημοκοπία in LSJ is from Dionys. Hal. 6, 60. The term is not sufficiently specific to be the subject of a formal charge, nor is it mentioned among the γραφαί of Athenian law.

10 The tradition about the prosecution of Euripides for impiety cannot be traced back beyond the Life by Satyrus, who attributes the prosecution to Cleon (1176 fr. 39 x 15-20). If the formulations in this papyrus could be regarded as containing any kernel of historical truth, it would be of great interest to have confirmation of the prosecution, and to see the source of it in the *Hercules Furens*, the date of performance of which would have in consequence to be placed before Cleon's death in

422 B.C. The formal analysis of these sentences set out in the introduction, however, is a warning against drawing any historical inferences from the word κρίνεται. Equally 'Ηρακλέα μαινόμενον is not to be treated as the title of the play: in ἐν δράματι, ἐν is used in an instrumental manner, 'by means of a play', cf. Kühner-Gerth ii 1, 465; *UPZ* 48, 13 διαλυόμενοι ἐν τῷ λιμῷ.

18 Λακεδαιμονίους cannot be verified.

EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

2401. TERENCE, *Andria*

Plate

Folio 1. 18.5 × 30.8 cm.

? Fourth century.

Two leaves, perhaps originally conjoint, of a papyrus codex, of which the first is nearly complete, the second badly mutilated. A complete page measured approximately 22 × 31 cm. with 34 or 35 lines to the page, an upper margin of 3.5 cm., a lower margin of 5.5 cm., and an outer side margin of 5 cm. In the hand elements derived from rustic capital, Greek, and cursive can be detected; but although the influence of cursive is most marked in the shapes of individual letters, the total effect is that of a book hand, handsome and singularly homogeneous; it has some resemblance to 668 (the Epitome of Livy) and some to P. Ryl. iii. 478, but it is more compact and elegant than either of these, and I know of no really close parallel to it. Of the individual letters *c* and *e* are narrow, *a* is of the Greek type, *g* is usually of the common uncial shape (though in l. 641 ξ is found), *m* is uniformly square and angular. The first hand made a number of corrections, inserted commas erratically as aids to reading, and added a few quantity marks and perhaps the Greek glosses; the corrector, using a darker ink, has put in a number of interlinear corrections and placed some omitted lines at the top of the page. He has also contributed to the punctuation; but no attempt is made in the transcription to distinguish points inserted by him from those of the first hand. Crasis and elision are avoided. This accords well with the impression that it shares in the general tendency to make Terence less archaic and thus more intelligible, a tendency which has affected the Calliopians in varying degrees, and to some extent also the Bembinus. Line division is mostly observed but wholly disregarded in vv. 607–24. It is not always correct in the canticum, vv. 625 seqq., and elsewhere.

For the first of the two sections contained in the papyrus the text depends entirely on medieval manuscripts deriving from the recension of Calliopius (CP = γ , DGL p = δ , E v η = mixed class). For the second the ancient Bembinus (A) is available as well as the Calliopians (with the addition of V in the δ class, and ϵ instead of η in the mixed class). The collation given in the notes is based mainly on Kauer's apparatus in the Oxford Text. The notes cover the passages where the papyrus offers new readings, and those where the testimony of the manuscripts or the ancient commentators is significantly divided.

The text of the papyrus does not compare very favourably with that of manuscripts. It is often faulty where the manuscript transmission is sound: 602, 608, ?612, 618, 622, 629, 647, 655, 657, 926 (distribution of speakers), 933, 935, 937, 939, 942, ?943,

2401. TERENCE, *ANDRIA*

III

962 seq., 973 (the same transposition also in one δ class Calliopian). In three of these instances (618, 622, 655) the false reading is found also in the lemma of Donatus. The papyrus does, however, seem to represent the truth several times, as against the manuscripts; (a) Calliopians only: 616, 647, 661 (the same reading in one δ class Calliopian); (b) Bembinus and Calliopians: 928 (confirming Bentley's emendation), 957 seq. (confirming G. Hermann's colometry), 973 (so also one Calliopian of the mixed class).

The papyrus further differs from A and the early Calliopians in carrying the second ending of the play (see note on 976). Where the Bembinus and the Calliopians diverge it shows no affinity to either recension; the false readings it shares with Σ in 934 and 939 are trivial, that in 938 is doubtful; it is correct with A in 945 (absence of interpolation) and 969, with Σ in 971. The same holds where one branch of the Calliopians goes with A as against the other: the papyrus never shares corruption with either side, but is correct with A + γ in 961, with A + (part of) δ in 927, 945, 959, 962 (*optem*), 974, 975, with δ (and E) against A + γ in 944 (*egomet*) and in beginning a new scene at 965 (so also Donatus).

All this seems to indicate detachment from our manuscript transmission. But, on the other hand, the papyrus shares corruption with the Calliopians (in the absence of A) in 607, 610, 616, 619, and whilst, where γ and δ are divided, it is free from corruption with γ in 627/8, 631, 664, and with δ in 647, and may be right with γ in 613 (*facere id*), it is certainly wrong with δ *ibid.* (*pollicitus sum*), 637 (trivial), and 665. Particularly significant are two lines where a word omitted (614) or added interlinearly (962) in the papyrus is not firmly anchored in the manuscripts (compare also 611).

For the notes on the text and the textual comment in this introduction we are indebted to Professor O. Skutsch.

TRANSCRIPTION A

Folio 1 verso

- 605 .rumfe[.]ellinut[.]asco.[
602 fecihodie[.]tf. erent[
604 hemastutia^oquodsiquies.[
606 utinam .ihiesetaliquid[...].
pamph...s da[.]us
adulescens seruus
est
.biillicestsceus,quime,perdiditda.[
adqueh^oconffiteoriuremihiobst.[...].i[
ius'
taminerstamnulliconsiliisum·seru.n[
...e
609/10 mēc.mm.sissefutt.ij·ergopraetium^obst.[
auf
id,numq.amferet·dāpost,hac,incolumensa[
inunc
si,de..to,hocmalum·pānamquid,egonuncd[
negabouelle,[.]m.modoquipollicitussumd[
facere,id,audeam·necquid,nuncfaciamscio.[.....]dem[
614/5 adq^o[.]·agosedulo·dicam,aliquid,iam[...].mei[.....]umy[
[.]as.e
aliquamproducamm[.]·am·pāohdā·uis.ssum[.....]mb.[
quidaisuiden,me,tuisconsiliismiserumimpēdi[...].dāa[
dā
pā expedies·certepamphile·pānempeutmodo·dā[.]mm[...].iusspe[
pā oh,tibiogcređamfurfifer·tureminpeditam,e[...].rditam
619/20 restituashemqu.řretussiem·quimeh.d..[.]x.r..quill.[
ef.]e hoc
coniecistiinnuptias·ann.ñdixissefuturum.[.]ixti·pa[
anoa.p.[...].
dā crucem·sedsinepaululum,adme,utredeamiamal.[.]id
dīspiciam^opāeimihi. .mnonhabeospatium,tde.es.[
utuolo·namq^ohoctempuspraecaueremih[.]hau[
charinus pamphilus [.]us
..l.s..ns adulescens ..řuus
625 ch hocineest,credi...e,autmemorable
tantau[.]ecordia, innatacuquamu.s..

TRANSCRIPTION B

Folio 1 verso

- erum fe[f]elli; in nupt[i]as con[ieci erilem filium;]
feci hodie [u]t fierent [insperante hoc atque invito Pamphilo.]
hem astutia! quod si quiesse[m, nil evenisset mali.]
605 se[d eccum ipsum video: occidi.]
utinam mihi esset aliquid [hic quo nunc me praecipitem darem!]
PAMPHILUS DA[v]US
ADULESCENS SERVUS
PA. Ubi illic est scelestus qui me perdidit? DA. P[er]ii.
PA. Atque hoc confiteor iure mihi obst..[
tam iners tam nullius consilii sum. servon [fortunas meas]
609/10 me commisisse futtili! ergo pretium ob stu[ltitiam fero: sed inultum]
id numquam auferet. DA. posthac incolumem sa[t scio fore me]
si nunc devito hoc malum. PA. nam quid ego nunc d[icam patr:?
negabo velle me modo qui pollicitus sum d[ucere? qua audacia]
facere id audeam? nec quid nunc faciam scio. D[A. nec qui]dem [me]
614/5 atque [i]d ago sedulo. dicam aliquid iam me in[ventur]um u[t huic malo]
aliquam producā m[o]ram. PA. oh! DA. visu' sum. [PA. eho
du]m, bo[ne vir,]
quid ais? viden me tuis consiliis miserum impedi[tum?] DA. a[t iam
expediam.]
PA. expedies? DA. certe, Pamphile. PA. nempe ut modo. DA. [i]mm[o
m]elius spe[ro.]
PA. oh tibi ego credam, furcifer? tu rem inpeditam e[t pe]rditam
619/20 restituas? hem quo fretus siem, qui me hodie [e]x tranquilli[ssuma re]
coniecisti in nuptias. an non dixi esse hoc futurum? DA. [d]ixti.
PA. [quid meritu's?]
DA. crucem. sed sine paululum ad me ut redeam: iam aliq[ui]d
dispiciam. PA. ei mihi cum non habeo spatium ut de te sum[am sup-
plicium]
ut volo! namque hoc tempus praecavere mihi [me] haud [te ulcisci sinit.]
CHARINUS PAMPHILUS D[A]VUS
ADULESCENS ADULESCENS SERVUS
625 CH. Hocine est credibile aut memorabile,
tanta vecordia innata cuiquam ut sit

ut, malis gaudeant adque ex incomm[.]d[.]
 sua, ut comp[.]rent commoda ah
 id est uerum; immo id est genus homin[.]
 630 pessimum in denegando modo quis pudor [pa]ulum ad[est];
 post, ubi tempus promissa iam perfici, tum [c]oacti ne[cessario se aperiunt,]
 et timent et tamen res eos premit, denegant;
 ibi, tum, eorum in pudentissima [.]q[.]

Folio I recto

- 635 c. 27 ll.]m[.]i·heus·
 c. 26 ll.].[.]m.n, ubi fide. .st
 c. 25 ll.]sest
 c. 16 ll.].ib.u.[.]ntur·
 c. 15 ll.]mne ad eum etc. meo iniuriam hanc expo[.]
 640 c. 15 ll.]ue aliquis dicat nihil promoueris
 c. 16 ll.]c[.]rte si fuero adque animo morem gesser[.]
 c. 15 ll.]e inprudens nisi quid di respici. nt per d[.]
 c. 12 ll.]den stande inuenta est causa. oluisti fidem
 c. 12 ll.]. etiam nunc me ducere istis dictis postulas
 645 c. 13 ll.]postquam me amare dixi conplacita est tibi
 c. 14 ll.]um qui tuum, animum, ex animo spectavi
 . . .]sus est non tibi satis [.] hoc solidum, uisum est gaudium
 . . .]si me lactasses, amantem et falsa spe produceres
 . . .]eas habeam ha nescis quantis [.] malis uerser miser
 650 [.][.] . as que hic suis consiliis mihi confecit sollicitudines
 meus carum fex. quid istuc tam mirum est de te si exemplum capit
 . . .]s. tistuc dic[.] sic cogno. is uel me uel amorem meum.
 . . .]cumpat[.] . . .]tudum et [.] . . .]u. . propterea tibi
 . . .]sc[.]ns. . . .]i. it hodie. . gere illam ut duceres
 655 . . .]m[.] . . .]m[.] . . .]stus. iserum nas meas

ut malis gaudeant atque ex incomm[.]d[.]is alterius
 sua ut comparent commoda? ah
 id est uerum; immo id est genus homin[.]
 630 pessimum in denegando modo quis pudor [pa]ulum ad[est];
 post ubi tempus promissa iam perfici, tum [c]oacti ne[cessario se aperiunt,]
 et timent et tamen res eos premit, denegant;
 ibi tum eorum in pudentissima ora[tio est] 'quis?'

Folio I recto

- 635 [tu es? quis mihi es? quor mea]m t[ib]i? heus
 [proximus sum egomet mihi.' at] t[a]men 'ubi fides est?'
 [si roges nihil pudet hic ubi opus est;
 [illi ubi nihil opus est] tibi verentur.
 [sed quid agam? adea]mne ad eum et cum eo iniuriam hanc expos[t]ulem?
 640 [ingeram mala multa? atq]ue aliquis dicat 'nihil promoueris':
 [multum: molestus] c[er]te ei fuero atque animo morem gesser[o].

[PA. Charine, et me et t]e inprudens, nisi quid di respiciunt, perd[i]d[i].

[CH. itane 'in]prudens'? tandem inventa est causa: solvisti fidem.

[PA. quid 'tande]m'? CH. etiam nunc me ducere istis dictis postulas?

645 [PA. quid istuc est? CH.] postquam me amare dixi, conplacita est tibi.
 [heu me miser]um qui tuum animum ex animo spectavi m[eo]!

[PA. fal]sus es. CH. non tibi satis hoc solidum visum est gaudium,
 [nisi me lactasses amantem et falsa spe produceres?

[hab]eas. PA. habeam? ha nescis quantis [i]n malis uerser miser
 650 [qu]antasque hic suis consiliis mihi confecit sollicitudines
 meus carum fex. CH. quid istuc tam mirum est de te si exemplum capit?

[PA. . .]s. tistuc dic[a]s si cognoris vel me uel amorem meum.

[CH. scio:] cum patr[e] alte[r]casti dudum et [i]s [n]unc propterea tibi
 [su]sc[er]nset nec te quivit hodie cogere illam ut duceres.

655 [PA. im]m[.]o etiam quo]min[.]s tu scis aerumnas meas,

- ...nup...nonapparabantur mihi neque postulabat
uam[....]uxorem ut ducerem
]ucoa....uauolu.[.]tatees^o.mane^o
]m[...].s[.]ioequidem illam ducturum...sete
 660]audi[...].n[.]amdesti.it
 c. 25 ll.]mpatri^o
 c. 24 ll.]...[...].lit
 c. 20 ll.].s^o...da.ū...[.]nterturbat^o.^{obrem}quam
 c. 24 ll.].ç[...].sçiratos quiauscultauerim
 665]hoc[...].edafactum^ochhemquidais^oscelus^o
 c. 14 ll.]mfatis exitium duint^o
 c. 17 ll.]hunconiectum in nuptias
 c. 14 ll.].uod nisi hoc consilium darent

Folio 2 recto

- 931]ndro tu[...].
 924]ta.cunaparua[...].go[um] c. 13 ll.].d....t
 925]mum ad chrysidis[...].tremse[...].m.n[...].t
]ne.critaneuero[...].tu.bat.siperge[...].umism[...].hicog.atu[
].ieumrece[...].bieg[...].audiuexilloseesseat[...].m
]bimortusest[...].eiusnomen.crnomentamcitoph[...].nia^o
]m[...].pericrue[...].hercleopinorfuissephaniam^ohoccertescio
 930]m[...].seiebat esse^ocho[...].[c. 14 ll.].eme
 932].n[...].sseiebat.crnnonchcuam[...].ur^o
].t.meae[...].siquidtuais.pa[...].aure.p[...].le
]ni[...].llefrater meus fuit.sin....et scio
 935].q^oinasiame sequens[...].]scitur
].elinquere hinc est ueritu[...].illa
].mum audio quid illo sit fact[...].sum apud...
 ... ερημικος
]mmotus metu^o

- [hae] nuptiae non apparabantur mihi neque postulabat
 [quisq]uam [nunc] uxorem ut ducerem.
 [CH. scio t]u coactus tua voluntate es. PA. mane.
 [nondu]m [s]ci[s. CH.] s[c]io equidem illam ducturum esse te.
 660 [PA. cur me enicas?] hoc audi: [n]un[qu]am destitit
 [instare ut dicerem me ducturu]m patri;
 [suadere orare usque adeo don]ec p[er]pult.
 [CH. quis homo istuc? PA. Dav]us. CH. Davus? PA. [i]nterturbat.
 CH. quam ob rem?
 [PA. nescio; nisi mihi deos satis] scio f[uis]se iratos qui auscultaverim.
 665 [CH. factum] hoc es[t, Da]ve? DA. factum. CH. hem quid ais, o scelus?
 [at tibi di dignu]m factis exitium duint!
 [eho dic mi, si omnes] hunc coniectum in nuptias
 [inimici vellent] quod nisi hoc consilium darent?

Folio 2 recto

- [et is]taec una parva v[ir]go. tum [ille egens forte] adplicat
 925 [pri]mum ad Chrysidis p[re]trem se. SI. [fabula]m in[cep]tat.
 [CH. si]ne. CR. itane vero o[b]turbat? SI. perge. [CR.] tum is m[i]hi
 cognatu[s] fuit]
 [qu]i eum recepi[t. i]bi ego audivi ex illo sese esse Att[ic]um.
 [is i]bi mortuus est. [C]H. eius nomen? CR. nomen tam cito?
 Ph[an]ia?
 [he]m. . .perii! CR. verum hercle opinor fuisse Phanium; hoc certe scio,
 930 [Rhamnus]um se aiebat esse. CH. o [Jup]piter! CR. eadem haec,
 Ch]reme,
 [multi alii in A]ndro tum [au]d[iv]ere. CH. utinam id sit quod spero! eho
 dic mihi,
 [quid eam tum? su]am[n]e e]sse aiebat? CR. non. CH. cuam
 [igit]ur?
 [CR. fratris filiam. CH. ce]rte mea est. SI. quid tu ais? PA. a[rrig]e
 aures, P[amphi]le!
 [SI. qui credis? CH. Pha]nia [i]lle frater meus fuit. SI. noram et scio.
 935 [CH. is bellum hinc fugiens m]eque in Asiam sequens [profic]iscitur:
 [tum illa]m relinquere hic est veritu[s]].illa
 [nunc p]rimum audio quid illo sit fact[um]. PA. vix] sum apud me:
 [ita animus co]mmotus metu

-]ndotantohoctamrēp[.]n[. . . .]ono^o
]tismoq[.]sīnu.nir[.]tuamgaudeopācredopater
 940]ulūsetiamrestatquimeṃaḥabeb^op̄d[.]s[
 ⁿet
].[. . .].umiscirpoquaeris.r̄quidiṣtuç[
]t̄r[. . .].ḥeṛçleḥ.çaliqidparuae[.]qu. . .[
].c̄r[. . .].a.ropāegohūiu. . .moriampatiarm.[
 ^h
]me[.]ometpōss[.]inacremedicarimihi
 945]l̄.ēst̄chipsaest̄r[.]est
]eṛḥocchreme
]uodrestatpater
].m
]..ṣt
 950].st

Folio 2 verso

- c. 2r ll.]il. . . . q^oeccumpāali[.]u. . . [
 .]u[.].tar[.].r[.].inunc[.]çessehocuerumlu[
 . . .]deq[. . .]u[. . .]m[. . . .]er. . . semp. ṭeṛ[.]amessearbitror
 960 q[.]duo[. . .].[. . .].ṣeorumprop. .esu.tnammihi[.]mmo.t[
 ^{[.]uṛṛ}
 pā[.]est[. . .].uḥ.aaegritu.ohuicgaudio.nṭercesserit
 ^{mihi}
 quidilludga.ḍi[.]st̄pāsedquemeḡ. .oti.ṣimumoptem.[
 haec.nā. .emḍ[.]ḍaḡuumu[.]eonem.estquemmal[
 ^{de} ^{[.]ç}
 nam[. . .].çṣciome[. . .].olisolumgauisurumḡ[
 d. . . ṣ charinus . . m[
 s. . .]s adulescens adul[
 965 dā .amph[.].namḥ[.]cest̄pādauedāquis[
 pā nescisqu[. . .]. . obtigerit-daçertesedqu[.]d[
 pā etquidem[. . .].ḡeḡhominumeuenit.utqu[
 ^ē
 priusrescis[. . .].uquameḡ[. . .]lludquodt̄i.[
 pā glyceriumme[. . .]osparentesrepp. .itdā^ofa[

- [spe gaudio mira]ndo tanto hoc tam rep[e]n[tino] b]ono.
 [SI. ne istam mul]tis mod[i]s invenir[i] tuam gaudeo. PA. credo, pater.
 940 [CH. at mi unus scrupulus etiam restat qui me male habet. PA. d[i]g[nu]s [es]
 [cum tua religione, odi]u[m; n]o[d]um in scirpo quaeris. CR. quid istuc
 e[st?]
 [CH. nomen non conveni]t. CR. [fui]t hercle huic aliquid parvae. [CH.] quod,
 C[rito?]
 [unquid meminist]i? CR. [id q]uaero. PA. ego huius memoriam
 patiar me[ae]
 [voluptati obstare, cu]m e[g]omet possi[m] in hac re medicari mihi?
 945 [heus, Chreme, quod quaeris, Pasib]ula est. CH. ipsa est. CR. [e]a est.
 [PA. ex ipsa miliens audiui. SI. omnes nos gaud]ere hoc, Chreme,
 [te credo credere. CH. ita me di ament, credo. PA. quod restat, pater
 [SI. iam dudum res redduxit me ipsa in gratiam. PA. o lepidum patr]em!
 [de uxore, ita ut possedi, nil mutat Chremes? CH. causa optum]a est;
 950 [nisi quid pater ait aliud. PA. nempe id. SI. scilicet. CH. dos,
 Pamphile.] est

Folio 2 verso

- [CH. Proviso quid agat Pamph]ilus. atque eccum. PA. ali[q]uis me [forsitan]
 [p]u[tet non p]utar[e hoc v]eru[m, at mi]hi nunc [si]c esse hoc verum lu[bet].
 [ego] deo[rum] v[ita]m [propt]erea sempiter[n]am esse arbitror
 960 q[u]od vo[lup]ta[t]es eorum propri[us] sunt; nam mihi immort[alitas]
 par[t] est .[. . .] nulla aegritudo huic gaudio intercesserit.
 [CH.] quid illud gaudi [e]st? PA. sed quem ego potissimum optem mihi,
 n[unc] cui]
 haec enarrem, d[ar]i, Davum v[id]eo. nemo est quem mal[lem] omnium.]
 nam [hu]nc scio me[a] solide solum gavisurum g[audia].
 DAVUS CHARINUS PAM[PHILUS]
 SE[RVU]S ADULESCENS ADUL[ESCENS]
 965 DA. Pamph[ilus] ubi nam h[ic] est? PA. Dave. DA. quis homo est?
 PA. ego sum. DA. o Pamphile.
 PA. nescis qu[is] mi obtigerit. DA. certe; sed qu[is]d [mihi obtigerit scio].
 PA. et quidem [ego. <DA.> m]ore hominum evenit ut qu[od] sim nanctus
 mali]
 prius rescisc[eres] tu quam eg[er]o illud quod ti[bi] evenit boni.]
 PA. Glycerium me[a] su[os] parentes repperit. DA. fa[ctum] bene. CH.
 hem.]

- 970 .. pateramicuſſummusnobi[...].qu[...].hrem[
 .. .eçmorau.laestquineamuxorem.[
 .. quaeu.g.l.nsuoluit.patumdep[
 soluſequeḿdid.ligant[...].u[
 conloquar..quisestcharine..t.[
 975 ḥ benefactumaud[.....]m.[...].g[
 tuusestnuncch[
 p̄a meminiad^o.[
 ch̄ m.[...].o[
 ch̄

602 On the upper half of this sheet most of the left margin is missing and with it the names of the speakers.

- 606 A line has been drawn by m¹ above *pamph...*s and another above *da[.]us*.
 610 *full.li*: before *l* either *u* or *i* followed by an erasure.
 613 After *uelle* room for one or perhaps two letters: either an erasure or space left blank.
 615 After *iam* faint traces of ink; *iam* perhaps written again and then erased by m¹. Across last letter in line a mark (∧) in m².
 623 Both first and second hands placed a point after *dispiciam*.
 624 Last letter of line definitely not *d*. Above *praecauere* perhaps very faint traces of Greek letters.
 625 Line drawn below this line is presumably paragraphus.
 626 At end of line *sit* more likely than *siet*.
 640 *promoueri*s corrected from *promoueri*t by m¹ who probably added Greek gloss.
 642 Faint traces of writing above *espici*.
 643 Small space left before *fidem*, probably because surface of papyrus was damaged.
 646 After *qui* space of one letter and trace of ink; probably erasure, but just possibly *quia* was written.
 647 At end of line faint traces of writing in m¹. Writing above line also in m¹: final letter perhaps *e*, but not preceded by *s*.
 650 Writing above line in m¹.
 651 *exemplum*: m¹ wrote *pl* in ligature which m² failed to recognize. Greek letters above line in m¹.
 658 *uolu*: followed not by *n* but by *p* or *t*, then an erasure.
 661 Faint traces of writing in margin by m¹.
 665 *ch* has been written over two other letters, possibly *pa*.
 930 *s* above line in m¹; on grounds of space *rhammusium* cannot have stood in full; possibly *us* omitted and added above line.
 936 Before *illa* possibly *s*.
 960 Greek above line in m¹; probably not ἡδοναι.
 969 Blank space left after *rep*. Point after *da* is unusually large and scribe may have begun to write *u*.
 978 *m.mo* is a possible reading; of the first letter the top horizontal stroke is clear and though the letter is incomplete any reading except *m* is practically excluded.

- 970 *PA*. pater amicus summus nobi[s. DA.] qu[is? P]A. Chrem[es. DA.
 narras probe.]
PA. nec mora ulla est quin eam uxorem d[ucam. CH. num illic somniat]
 ea quae vigilans voluit? *PA*. tum de p[uer]o, Dave DA. ah desine!]
 solus es quem di diligant. CH. [sal]vu[s sum si haec vera sunt.]
 conloquar. *PA*. quis est? o Charine, in te[mpore ipso mi advenis.]
 975 *CH*. bene factum. aud[istin o]mn[ia?] ag[e, me in tuis secundis respice.]
 tuus est nunc Ch[remes: facturum quae voles scio esse omnia.]
PA. memini: atque[
CH. m.[...].o[
CH.

602 *inul*: in *nup(tias)* codd.; cf. 667.

604 *hem*: so or *em* codd. Note that the word is attached to 604, not to the end of 603.
astutia: so or *astutias* codd.

605 This line was added by the corrector in the upper margin.

607 The corrector, puzzled by *scelus qui*, emended to *scelustus (scelus scelustus intellegitur Donatus)*.
me perdidit: so all ancient MSS., Don(atus), Eugr(aphius); *perdidit me* most edd.; *me hodie*
 Bentley after some late MSS. (omitting *perdidit*).

608 Some form of *obstare* or possibly *ob stultitiam* (cf. 609-10); *obtigisse* codd.

610 *ergo*: so or *ego* codd.; *ergo* Servius, *Aen.* xii 352; *ego* *ibid.* ix 232.

id numquam: so codd.; *numquam id* most edd.

611]*si deuito hoc malum: nunc si deuito hoc malum* CPE v η Eugr. rec. α (*nunc si hoc deuito malum*
 rec. β); *hoc nunc si deuito malum* DGL p. The preceding line would be long enough without *nunc*,
 which the corrector has entered (together with *si*?) above *-uito*.

612 *negabo*: *negabon* codd., edd.

613 *pollicitus sum*: so DL p Don.; *sum pollicitus* CPG p E v η, edd. The papyrus eludes the *crux*
 in the second half of the line.

facere id: so CPE v η; *id facere* DGL p Don. (lem.)

614 *nunc faciam: nunc me (de me G) faciam* DGL p Prisc.; *me nunc faciam* CP; *de me nunc faciam*
 schol. L, E v η.

nec quidem me: so or *nec quid eme* or *nec (ne) quidem de me* or *nec me quidem* codd.

615 *aliquid iam ... me inuenturum: aliquid me inu.* CP; *aliquid me iam inu.* DGL p v η; *aliquid*
iam me inu. E. Unless the gap in the papyrus was filled by erasure it may have read *esse*.

producam: so codd., Don.; 'et productam legitur' Don.; *productem* some edd.

616 *oh*: so edd.; *ohe* codd. (om. p¹, *eho* E).

tuis consiliis: so codd.; *consiliis tuis* most edd.

618 *ego credam*: so Don. (lem.); *ego ut credam* codd., edd.

619 *siem*: so codd.; *sim* most edd.

621 *esse hoc futurum*: so CPDL p v η, edd.; *esse futurum hoc* E; *hoc futurum esse* G; *hoc futurum*
 Don. (lem.) Eugr. (lem.).

622 *ut redeam*: so Don. (lem.); *redeam* codd., edd.

627-8 *gaudeant ... comparent*: so CP¹ Don.; *-eat ... -et* P²DGL p E v η Don. ('legitur et gaudeat
 et comparet').

629 *id est uerum: idne est uerum* codd., edd.

630 *paulum*: om. CP¹; *paululum* DGE; other MSS. not recorded.

631 *tempus*: so C¹P¹ Don.; *tempus est (-pust)* all other MSS.

632 *se aperiunt* if not omitted altogether after *necessario* must have been written above the line.

- 633 *res eos premit: res premit (cogit P) CP v Don. (AB); res premit eos G p E η; res cogit eos DL Don. (V).*
denegant: denegare codd., Don.
 636 *fides est: so DGL; fides CP p E v η, edd.*
 637 *ubi opus est: so codd.; ubi opus edd.*
 639 *adeamne: so or adeon(e) codd.*
 647 *non: nonne codd.*
satis: satis esse CP p E v η; sat esse DGL.
solidum uisum: so DGL p; uisum solidum CPE v η.
 650 *suis consiliis mihi: mihi suis consiliis Don. (lem.).*
confecit: 'legitur et confavit' Don.
 652 *. . . s. t: haud codd.*
 653 *altercasti: 'legitur et altercatus es' Don.*
 655 *quo minus tu: so Don. (lem.) (AV; quo minus (cett. om.) B; quo <tu> minus TC); quo tu minus codd., edd.*
 656 *haec: 'legitur et haec nuptiae' Don.*
 657 *ut ducerem: dare codd., Eugr.; cf. 654 ut duceres.*
 661 *ducturum: so p, Don. (lem.); esse ducturum all other MSS. The space available shows that the papyrus did not read esse.*
 664 *deos satis scio fuisse iratos: so CP p E v η; deos f. ir. satis scio DGL; deos fuisse iratos (cett. om.) Don. (lem.) (d. s. s. f. i. T).*
qui auscullauerim: so CPD η; qui ei ausc. L p E v; qui ausc. ei G.
 665 *hoc est: so codd. except P (est hoc).*
o scelus: so (oh) L p; scelus all other MSS., edd.
 926 *perge: here given to Simo; to Chremes codd.*
perge :: tum is: so codd. (is om. GV); perge tu :: is Bentley.
 927 There is space for two letters between *eg* and *audivi*, but the papyrus did not read *ergo*, with DL¹.
sese esse Atticum: so A GLV; se civem esse Atticum D p; sese Atticum esse CPE v.
 928 *is* here, as in codd. Not attached to 927.
cito: cito tibi codd., Don. lem. (ATCV; tibi om. B). The papyrus confirms Bentley's deletion of tibi, which modern editors have rejected in favour of various other arrangements.
 928-9 The papyrus gives *nomen . . . hem* to Crito, *perii* to one of the interlocutors, and *verum hercle* again to Crito. A gives all to Crito but has clearly lost at least one speaker's mark, since it repeats CR before *verum*. A² and 'sunt qui' in Donatus give *hem* to Simo. A² and Donatus give *perii* to Pamphilus, Donatus allowing that it may belong to Chremes. The Calliopians, according to J. Andrieu, *Les sigles de personnages*, Paris 1940, p. 15, give *hem perii* to Chremes (but P *hem* only to Chremes, *perii* to Simo), the rest to Crito.
 929 *certe: so GV; certo all other MSS.*
 930 *Chreme: so also 946. The MSS. here and elsewhere are divided between Chreme and Chremes.*
 931 Added in upper margin by the corrector.
 933 The papyrus omits Crito's (Simo's A) *quid ais* before Simo's (Pamphilus' A) *quid tu ais*. *PA. arrige* etc.: so codd.; 'hoc Simo videtur dicere; ut alii putant, ipse Pamphilus' Don.
 934 *ille: so Σ; illic A.*
 935 *sequens: persequens codd., Don.*
 936 *illa: postilla A²Σ; posilla A¹. The letter before illa apparently was not t (perhaps s), and the space appears too long for post alone; the point after it may have been inserted in error.*
 937 *commotus: commotus est codd.*
 938 *tanto hoc t. r.: so DGLV; hoc tanto t. r. γ p; tantum t. r. hoc A.*
 939 *multis modis: so Σ, Don., Eugr.; multimodis A.*
inveniri tuam: tuam inveniri (-e A) codd.
 942 *aliquid: aliud codd.*
 943 *ego: egon A; egone Σ.*
 944 *egomet: so DGL p VE; ego ACP v.*

- 945 [*heus* (apparently): so A; *non patiar heus Σ*.
 The papyrus gives *ipsa est* to Chremes and *ea est* to Crito; so AD¹L; the other MSS. reverse this.
 946 *Chreme: cf. 930.*
 957 seq. *putet* in 958: so G. Hermann; *me* (om. V) *putet/non* (*non* in lac. A) codd. For the restoration needed in 957 only Hermann's *aliquis me forsitan* (a. f. *me* codd.) now seems to qualify.
 959 *deorum vitam: so A (? ego deor in lac.) DGL p V Servius; vitam deorum CPE v ε.*
 961 *parata est: so A (? partast in lac.) CPLE v ε; parata est DG p V.*
est. [. . .] ut: si n(ulla) (codd.) is too short for the space to be filled.
 962 seq. Charinus' interjection (speaker not marked here; assigned either to Charinus or to Davus by Donatus) and the subsequent speaker's notation *PA* are placed in 963 by codd., 962 ending in *dari*.
 962 *optem: so AL¹ Eugr. (lem.); exoptem cett. codd.*
mihi: written here above the line after optem, read after ego in A p V (so edd.), after potissimum in CPE v ε, after quem in G; L and Eugr. (lem.) omit it.
 963 *enarrem: not certain; narrem codd.*
 964 In beginning a new scene after this line the papyrus agrees with δ and Don. against ACPE.
 968 *tu: om. A¹.*
 969 *Glycerium mea: so A; mea Glycerium Σ.*
factum: so AGLV; o factum CPD p E v.
 971 *mora ulla est: so Σ (ulla mora est v); morast ulla A.*
 973 *es: so v²; est cett. codd.*
di diligant: so (dii) V (? Marouzeau; Linds.-K. do not record it); diligent di cett. codd. (dii A; om. C¹).
 974 *conloquar: so A p; adibo et conloquar cett. codd. (-quor D¹V¹).*
quis est? o Charine: quis (qui G) homost? o Charine codd.; edd. omit o.
 975 *aud.: so AD¹ p; hem (em C¹P) aud. cett. codd. There is no indication of a change of speaker in the papyrus after factum or before omnia. The papyrus may be presumed to have read audistin: so codd.; audisti edd.*
 976 In all major MSS. this line is followed by five more, which conclude the play by announcing that Philomena will be betrothed to Charinus behind the scenes. While the first of these lines tallies with the papyrus as far as it goes, the following two are altogether different. Donatus and Eugraphius, on the other hand, were aware of an alternative and fuller ending inserted after v. 976, in which the betrothal was made by Chremes on the stage. This scene is preserved in some late MSS. and seems originally in the MS. transmission to have held the position attested by the scholiasts.¹ It cannot in its present form be identified with the version of the papyrus, since it begins *PA te expectabam*, and since, further, the appearance of Chremes would be marked by a change of scene. Ritschl, however (*Parerga*, pp. 598 seq.), saw that, to make it possible for a new scene to begin with *te expectabam*, Charinus' (976) *facturum quae voles scio esse omnia*, and Pamphilus' reply promising his assistance must have been followed by the announcement of Chremes' entry, and by some remark explaining why at the beginning of the new scene Chremes converses with Pamphilus alone, at some distance from Charinus and Davus. Ritschl therefore restored
CH tuus nunc est Chremes: facturum quae voles scio esse omnia.
PA nemini: atque adeo ut volui commodum huc senex exit foras.
secede illuc aliquantisper. CH Dave, sequere hac me. DA sequor.
 A supplement on these lines can readily be made to square with the remnants of the papyrus by assuming for v. 977 a version similar to Ritschl's, for v. 978 a final brief appeal by Charinus followed by Pamphilus' command to him to stand back, and for v. 979 a statement by Charinus that he would listen from a distance, and perhaps an order to Davus to retire with him. Line 979 would then have been followed by the designation of a new scene and the alternative ending as read in the late MSS.
¹ For the attestation of this scene see *Rhein. Mus.* 100 (1957), pp. 53 seqq.. A third ending, in which Simo appears on the stage, is found in a MS. at Erlangen (391, s. xiii). It is medieval and may here be disregarded.

2402. ARISTOTLE, *Ethica Nicomachea* viFr. i 4.5 × 6 cm.; fr. ii 4 × 6 cm. Middle second century. *Plate*

These two fragments of Aristotle's *Ethics* both preserve the left-hand side of a column and a portion of its margin. But there is no reason to suppose they are parts of the same column, and that the text is therefore an abbreviated version. The hand is a medium-sized, neat, informal round capital. It sometimes has two distinct forms for single letters, a more or less formal triangular *a*, for example, side by side with a quickly made rounded type. Its general style can be paralleled from several dated documents, e.g. from the Gnomon of the Idios Logos, or *P. Graec. Berlinenses* 22 a and b, and it is probably to be assigned to the early or middle second century. There is no punctuation and there are no accents, but a possible critical sign is found at one point. Iota adscript was not written.

Aristotle's philosophical writings have so far been sparsely represented in papyri. Extant works have been identified to date only in a fragment of the *Analytica Posteriora* of the sixth or seventh century (*Philologus* 44 (1885) 21-29), and in one of the *Historia Animalium* of the second century (P. Reinach ii 80). 666, also second century, is assigned to the lost *Protrepticus*, and a few other pieces (see Pack's list) may be Aristotelian. The new evidence of 2402 and 2403 is therefore particularly welcome.

2402 though not without faults, offers a good text, and one substantially in agreement with that of the medieval codices. It lends no support to the theory of frequent interpolation. In conformity with general experience, the papyrus does not consistently agree with any single codex or family. Two codices have been particularly singled out since Bekker, K^b (Laurentianus 81. 11, 10th cent.) and L^b (Parisiensis 1854, 12th-13th cent.); 2402 is twice in agreement with L^b, once refuses to follow L^b in an idiosyncratic reading of the latter; and once it disagrees with all the codices and is probably in error. On one well-known difficulty its testimony would have been invaluable had an additional line been preserved.

Fr. i

[.....] ορθο[της αληθεια] 1142 b 11
 [αμα δ]ε και ωριστα[ι ηδη παν ου]
 [δ]οξα εστιν αλλα μη[ν ουδ ανευ]
 [λο]γου η ευβο[υ]λια δ[ιανοιας αρα λει]
 5 πεται α[υτ]η γαρ [ο]υπω [φασις και γαρ]
 η δοξα ου ζητησις αλ[λα φασις τις]
 ηδη ο δε βουλευομ[ενος εαν τε]
 ευ εαν τε κακως β[ουλευηται]
 ζητει τι και λογ[ι]ζεται αλλ ορθο]
 10 της τις εστιν [η ευβουλια βουλης]
 διο δη βουλ[η ζητητα πρωτον]
 τι και περ[ι τι επει δ η ορθο]
 της [

Fr. ii

ο[
 15 [.....]ει κα[ι]
 ευδαιμονιαν επι τ[ο εργον απο]
 β
 τελειται κατα την [φρονησιν]
 και την ηθικην αρ[ετην η μεν]
 γαρ αρετη τον σκοπ[ον ποιει]
 20 ορθον η δε φρονησ[ις τα προς]
 [τ]ουτον του δε τεταρ[του μοριου]
 [τ]ης ψυχης ουκ εστ[ιν αρετη]
 [το]ιαυτη του θρεπ[τικου ου]
 [δε]ν γαρ επ αυτω πρα[ττειν η]
 25 [μη] πρα[ττειν]

3 ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . φάσις, secl. Giphanius, Rasso.

8 εἰάν τε κακῶς, L^bQ^b Bekker; εἰάν τε καὶ κακῶς, ceteri, Susemihl, Bywater.

11 διὸ δὴ βουλή, codd., a superior reading since Aristotle appears to use the definite article with

an abstract noun when it is subject, and it is not his practice to reinforce *διό* with *δή* (no example of this association is quoted in Denniston, *Greek Particles*, and the only instance traced in Aristotle is *Met.* 1070 a 18, where A^b omits *δή*). *διό* is normally used alone, sometimes with *καί*.

Rassow deletes *διό-περὶ τί*.

14 Possibly [μέρος γάρ] | οἷσα τῆς ὄλης ἀρετῆς τῷ ἔχ[εσθαι ποι]εῖ. But the supposed initial *ο* might also be read as *ε* or *σ*.

15 *καὶ ἐνεργεία εὐδαιμονία* K^b, τῷ ἐνεργεῖν L^bM^b, ἐνεργεῖ O^b, εὐδαιμονίαν L^bO^b, τὸν εὐδαίμονα M^b. The papyrus has minute traces only in l. 15. The second letter has a turned-up serif which suits only *ι* (or just possibly *ν*), the fourth letter is certainly not *ω*. κ[α]τ[ὸ] τῷ[] cannot be read. After κ[α], to judge by the following lines, the loss is eight or nine letters. κ[α]τ[ὸ] ἐνεργεία | εὐδαιμονίαν would perhaps suit the space better than κ[α]τ[ὸ] ἐνεργεῖν, and, as suggested by H. Busse, *Hermes* xviii (1883), p. 142, might account for the corruptions and the variants.

17 Possibly the mark over λ, represented as a β, has some critical significance.

24 ἐφ' ἐαυτῶι L^b

2403. ARISTOTLE, *Categoriae*

Fr. i height 18.5 cm.

Early third century.

Four fragments from a roll containing Aristotle's *Categoriae*, written in a common type of angular upright hand, to be assigned to the early third century A.D. The scribe does not write iota adscript. For punctuation he uses the high stop, normally copied simultaneously with the text but once (l. 30) inserted later, the paragraphus, and the double dot (section ending l. 26), inserts an apostrophe between double mutes (τυν'χανει l. 23), uses a superior line as contraction mark for final *ν* (τυφλο- l. 31), and does not admit a number of cases of hiatus which are tolerated in the vulgate (l. 22 *αὐται δ ουκ*; l. 45 [δηλον] δ οτι).

The papyrus offers an excellent text. It has two readings not found in medieval codices or (to judge from Minio-Paluello's apparatus in his Oxford edition) in the commentators and versions, both of them probably right. Once it agrees with the Latin and Syrian versions against the Greek codices in an omission. Between the two codices on which Minio-Paluello founds his edition, n (= Ambrosianus L 93 of the ninth century) and B (= Marcianus 201, tenth century), the papyrus distributes its agreements impartially. It agrees in superior readings four times with n, three times with B. The papyrus offers no support to Minio-Paluello's hypothesis of a lacuna at the end of section 11 a, nor to his proposed transposition of 11 b 1-8. In general the papyrus confirms the soundness of the medieval tradition.

Manuscript evidence is reported from the apparatus of Th. Waitz, *Aristotelis Organon Graece* (Leipzig, 1844) when not cited by Minio-Paluello.

Fr. I

[επιστη | μη γε]νος ου[σα αυτο οπερ εστιν
 11 a 24
 ετερο]υ λεγετ[αι· τινος γαρ επι
 στημ]η λεγετα[ι· των δε γε καθ ε
 καστα ο]υδεν α[υτο οπερ εστιν
 5
 ετερ]ου λεγετα[ι· οιον η γραμμα
 τ]ικη ου λεγετα[ι τινος γραμμα
 τ]ικη· ουδ η μο[υσικη τινος μου
 σ]ικη· αλλ[ει αρα κατα το γενος
 και αυται [προς τι λεγονται· οιον
 10
 η γραμμα[τικη λεγεται τινος
 ε]πιστημ[η ου] τιν[ος γραμματι
 κ]η· κα[ι η μο]υσικη τ[ινος επι
 σ]τημη [ου τιν]ος μ[ουσικη·
 ωσ]τε αι κ[αθ εκ]αστα [ουκ εισι των
 15
 πρ]ος τι λε[γομε]θα δε [ποιοι ταις
 κα]θ εκαστα[· ταν]τας γ[αρ και εχο
 μεν· επιστ]ημο]νες [γαρ λεγομε
 θα τω εχειν [τ]ων καθ εκαστα επι
 20
 στημων τ[ιν]α· ωστε [αυται αν
 και ποιη]τη[ς] ειησαν αι καθ ε
 καστα· καθ ασπερ και ποιοι λεγ[ο
 μεθα· αυται δ ουκ εισιν των προς
 τ]ι· επι ει τυν'χανει ταυτο και
 25
 προιον και προς τι ον· ουδεν α
 τοπον εν αμφοτεροις τοις γε
 νεσιν αυτο καταριθμεισθαι·
 επιδεχεται δε και το ποιειν
 και το πασχειν εναντιοτη

Fr. 2

ουδετερ]ον αληθες· 13 b 21
 30 οντος δε ουκ αι αληθες· το γαρ ο
 ψιν εχειν Σωκρατ]η τω τυφλο-
 ειναι Σωκρατη αντ]ικειται ως
 στερησις και εξις·] και οντος
 γε ουκ αναγκαιον θ]ατερον αλη
 35 θες ειναι η ψευδος·] οτε γαρ μη
 πω πεφυκεν εχειν] αμφοτε
 ρα ψευδη· μη οντος δε ολωσ του
 Σωκρατους και ουτ]ω ψευδη αμ
 φοτερα και το οψιν αυ]τομ [εχ]ειν
 40 και το τυφλον ειναι].[

Fr. 3

τ]ου ετερου [των εναντιων 14 a 13
 οντος] και το λοιπ[ον ειναι· οντος
 γαρ του] Σωκρατη [υγμαινειν
 ουκ αν] ειη το νοσ[ειν Σωκρατη·
 45 δηλον] δ οτι και]περι

Fr. 4 (unplaced)

]τορ[
]δετ[
]ενο[

3 [τῶν δέ γε is restored as in n, in order to give the last part of the line the same length as the preceding and following lines.

9 αἱται: B, Armenian and P Syriac versions have αἱται τῶν πρὸς τι.

13 Codd. (except C e n) and Armenian version add λέγεται after ἐπιστήμη, an addition for which there is no room in the papyrus. It is noticeable, however, that this line consists of only nineteen letters, shorter than the average.

14 αἱ omitted by n.

19 τινος C i and I Syriac version.

21 καθ' ἃς ποτε codd. (except n, Latin and I Syriac versions καθ' ἃς). περ is clearly superior to

ποτε, not wanted here to denote the category of date and otherwise meaningless. Possibly the error is due to misunderstanding of an abbreviation (π').

22 There are offsets of ink above this line.

23 τυγχάνει e f n, τυγχάνοι B, τύχοι u. τὸ αὐτὸ ποιὸν καὶ πρὸς τι ὄν, e n u g and commentators; τὸ αὐτὸ πρὸς τι καὶ ποιὸν ὄν (ὄν om. AB i) cett., and Armenian version. The line above ὄν in the papyrus is probably intended to cancel this word, i.e. to agree with B in its omission. There is no other testimony for the first καὶ found in the papyrus.

25 τοῖς γένεσιν αὐτὸ: the order is altered to αὐτὸ τοῖς γένεσιν in C g, Armenian and Latin versions.

27 ἐπιδέχεται δέ: δέ omitted by e n i g. καὶ before τὸ ποιεῖν omitted by e.

28 καὶ τὸ πάσχειν, with the papyrus B, Olympiodorus, and v.l. in Ammonius, Philoponus, Simplicius. Others καὶ πάσχειν.

30 The line cannot have contained θάτερον before ἀληθές. B and P Syriac omitted θάτερον here, but after ἀληθές n, B, and Armenian version added θάτερον δὲ ψεῦδος, which is not in the papyrus.

31 τὸ τυφλὸν n, (τῶ γάρ—τὸ τυφλὸν δι).

37 Either δ]ε as n or τ]ε as B.

40 Trace of a horizontal, perhaps part of a τ or γ or even π. Whether it is part of ἐπί, γε, or τῆς, it is likely that αὐτὸν was omitted after τυφλὸν as in n.

2404. AESCHINES, *In Ctesiphontem* 51-53

Height 22 cm.

Second century. *Plate*.

This fragment which preserves two columns of Aeschines' speech *Against Ctesiphon* was a handsome manuscript, distinguished by broad upper and lower margins and intercolumnar spaces, and by the bold calligraphy of its handwriting. The scribe, identified not only by his general style but by his characteristic square omega and three-stroked μ with the writer of the Erinna papyrus PSI 1090 and of the Boeotian lyric verse published in 2373, I should assign to the second century A.D. He writes iota adscript regularly. The single accent (l. 52) may be the work of the first hand, but is more probably an addition by the second, who inserted the stops, a high stop to divide cola (e.g. ll. 40, 43, 44), a high stop in conjunction with a paragraphus (e.g. ll. 36, 50) to mark the close of a period, and once (l. 17) a stop in the low position with the effect of a comma. The second hand not only revised the text for errors but collated its readings with an exemplar different from that from which it was copied.

The text, which is free from the vagaries of the medieval codices, is of interest for two variants from their tradition (ll. 7, 44-47). In the second of these, at a place where the text had not even been suspected, there are two alternative readings, both superior to that of the manuscript tradition, no doubt both deriving from different ancient editions. A transposition made by Cobet is confirmed (l. 48). The papyrus is as tolerant of hiatus (l. 22 n., l. 38) as the manuscripts, and lends no support to the excisions or conjectures of Weidner. In its superiority over the medieval codices 2404 is in conformity with the general conclusion elicited from an examination of the papyri of Aeschines in the introduction to 1625 (cf. also the preface to V. Martin's Budé edition, i, pp. vii seqq.). It is the fifteenth papyrus text of Aeschines to be known (ten are enumerated in R. A. Pack, *The Graeco-Roman Literary Texts from Egypt* nos. 3-12; additional pieces are P. Fouad Inv. 222, published by M.-Th. Lenger, *Mél. Joseph Hombert*, p. 87 (c. *Tim.* 53-54); P. Erlangen 11, identified by A. Oguse, *Chron. d'Ég.* 27 (1952), pp. 393 seqq. as *F.L.* 153; P. Hamb. 165 (*In Ctes.* 194-200); a fourteenth, in the possession of D. M. Robinson, is to be published by W. H. Willis).¹

¹ See TAPA 86 (1955) pp. 129-134.

Col. i		Col. ii	
	επι]τομη[ν· η τα	§ 51	[τριακοντα μων]
	περ]ε την Κη[φισο-		30 αμα την τξ εις αυ-
	δοτ]ου στρατ[ηγι-		τον υβριν και την
	αν κ]αι τον τω[ν νε-		του δημου καταχει-
5	ων] εκπλουγ [τον		ροτονιαν· ην εν
	εις] Ελλησπο[ντον		τοῖς Διονυσίοις κα-
	στ]ε ^ο εις ων [των		35 τεχειροτονησε
	τ]ρηρα[ρ]χ[ων Δη-		Μίδιου· ταυτα μεν
	μοσ]θενης κ]αι πε-	§ 52	ουν μοι δοκω και
	10 ριαγ]ων τον σ[τρατη-		τα αλλα τα τουτοις
	γον ε]πι της ρ[εως		ομοια υπ[ε]ρβησε-
	και] συναιτω[ν και		40 σθαι· ον προδιδους
	συ]νθυων και[ι συν-		υμας ουδε τον αγω-
	σπ]ενδων· κ]αι του-		να καταχαριζόμε-
15	τω]ν αξιωθε]ις δια		νος· αλλ εκεινο φο-
	το] πατρικος α[υται		βουμενος· μη ^{τις} μοι
	φι]λος ειναι. ο]υκ ω-		45 παρ υμων απαντη-
	κν]ησεν απ ε]ισαγγε-		ση [τι τοιουτον] θορυ[βος]
	γελι]ας α[υ]του [κρι-		και [το δοκειν] δοξω
20	νο]μενου τξερ]ε θα-		αληθη μεν λεγειν
	να]του κατη[γορος γε-		αρχαια δε και λ[ε]ϊαν
	νε]σθαι· και[ι ταυτα		50 ομολογουμενα·
	ηδ]η τα περ[ε Μιδι-		καιτοι ω Κτησι-
	αν] και του[ς κον-		φων οτωι τα μεγα-
25	δυ]λους ους ε[λαβεν		στα των αισχρων
	εν] τηι ορχ[ηστραι		υτ
	χο]ρηγος ων [και ως		ο[π]ω[ς] εστι πιστα
			55 και γνωριμα τοις
			ακουουσιν ωστε
	α]πεδ[ε]το [

² τὴν om. n.

⁵ ἐκπλοῦν: εἰσπλοῦν Laur. 60. 4 B. [τὸν εἰς]: εἰς τὸν e l.

⁷ ὁ before εἰς add. manus secunda. ὅτε εἰς ὧν, codd.

⁸ [Δημοσ]θένης as in d f a b m. Del. Weidner.

⁹ κ[αὶ περιάγ]ων τὸν σ[τρατηγόν]: so a b m k. καὶ στρατηγῶν e l.

¹¹ ε]πι τῆς ρ[εως: so d f a b m. Del. Weidner.

¹² συναιτῶν: συσσιτῶν codd.

- 14 κ[αὶ τοῦτω]ν: καὶ del. Halm, Weidner³.
 16 πατρικόν Laur. 60. 4. αὐτῶν e k l d f.
 22 καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη]η: since the line would not be divided ταντ|α and two complete letters are required before]η, the papyrus is likely to have had the same hiatus as appears in d f a b m. ταῦτ' ἤδη edd. plerique, ταῦτα δὲ Cobet, ἢ ταῦτα ἤδη q, Reiske.
 27 [καὶ ὥς]: καὶ om. g Laur. 57. 45.
 28 The first hand corrected his own error, but the second confirmed the correction with a supralinear ο. The end of the line seems to have been left blank.
 34 Διονύσου codd.
 38 Hiatus as in codd. τᾶλλα, edd.
 44 μὴ μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ τὸ δοκεῖν λέγειν μὲν ἀληθῆ, ἀρχαῖα δέ codd. (τὸ before δοκεῖν om. p Vat. 64). This reading probably originated in the omission of a complete line from the first version in the papyrus, by homoeoteleuton from the ι of σῃ before τ in l. 46 to the ι of καὶ before τ in l. 47. This first reading appears to mean 'lest I be greeted on your part by some such thing as the impression of telling the truth but . . .', as if τι τοιοῦτον οἶον or ὥς καὶ stood in the Greek. For Aeschines' use of τι τοιοῦτον cf. i. 180 καὶ τι τοιοῦτον κατ' αὐτὸν ἐβλασφήμησεν ὥς οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον . . . οἰκήσουσι, ii. 42 and 46 (both with ὥς), iii. 39 (without ὥς). The second hand, no doubt collating the text from a different exemplar, cancelled τι τοιοῦτον, added τις and θόρυβος, and altered τὸ δοκεῖν to δόξω (the first scribe had left the line rather short), so that his final reading is μὴ τίς μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ θόρυβος καὶ δόξω κτλ. ἀπαντᾶν παρὰ is much better suited with a concrete subject θόρυβος, and the construction is on all fours with Aeschines' usage elsewhere: i. 83 μείζων ἀπήντα παρ' ὑμῶν μετὰ γέλωτος θόρυβος; i. 164 ἔπειτ' οὐ πολλὴ κραυγὴ παρὰ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀπαντήσεται; ἀληθῆ μὲν: this palmary transposition, confirmed by the papyrus, is due to Cobet.
 52 ὅτωι: so d f a b m, Σ, Blass; ὅπου Weidner; ὅτου or ἐν ὅτω, Scheibe.
 54 οὕτως om. e k l d f.
 56 ὥστε: so e k Laur. 57. 45; ὥς a b m l.

2405. GLOSSARY TO HOMER, *Iliad* i

30 × 28.7 cm.

Second to third century

Remains of five columns written in a plain, ugly backward-sloping documentary hand on papyrus of very poor quality. A rather full word list covering *Iliad* i 58–128; for this type of text, see A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* ii 303 seqq.; C. H. Roberts on P. Rylands 536 (vol. iii, p. 177); P. Collart in Mazon, *Introduction à l'Iliade*, p. 61. Calderini's conclusions about the relation of such texts from Egypt to the *Scholia Minora sive Didymi*, the Paraphrase of the *Iliad*, and the *Lexicon Homericum* of Apollonius Sophistes are further confirmed by the present text, which is doubtless, like others of its kind, a product of the schoolroom. The orthography is bad and corrections are frequent. The verso is blank.

The numbers in brackets represent the lines of the Homeric text. In the commentary the following abbreviations are used: D = *Scholia Minora sive Didymi*, Aldus, Venice 1521; Pa = Paraphrase of the *Iliad*, printed as an appendix to Bekker's

Scholia in Homeri Iliadem, Leipzig 1827; Ap = Apollonius Sophistes, *Lexicon Homericum*, ed. Bekker, Berlin 1833; Schol. A = Scholia on Venetus 454, ed. Dindorf, Oxford 1875; Schol. B = on Venetus 453, *ibid.* 1877; Schol. L = L. Bachmann, *Schol. in Hom. Il.*, Leipzig 1835; Schol. T = E. Maass, *Schol. gr. in Hom. Il. Townleyana*, Oxford 1877/8; Eust. = *Comm. in Hom.* Leipzig 1825/30 (vol. i cited by page and line).

		i	
(58)	[ανισ]ταμενος	[αναστας]	
(58)	[μετε]φη	μετει[πεν]	
(58)	[ωκυσ]	ταχυ[ς]	
(62)	[εριομεν]	ερ[[ε]]τησωμεν	
(62)	5 [ιερηα	ι]ερεα	
(63)	[ονειροπολο]ν	τον δια των ο-	
		[νε]ρων μαντευομενον	
(64)	[τοσσον]	τοσουτον	
(64)	[εχ]ωσατο	[[ο]]ργισθη	
(64)	10 [Φο]ιβος	ο καθαρος και αμι-	
		αντος	
(65)	[ει τ]αρ	αταρ	
(65)	[ο γε]	ουτος γε	
(65)	[ευχ]ωλης	ευχης	
(65)	15 [εκατο]μβης	μεγαλης [θυ-	
		σιας	
(66)	[αι κε]ν	ε[[ν]]αν	
	[αρν]ων	προβατ[ων]	
	[πρω]τογονων	νεων	
	20 [ρ]εξ' ε'ις	θυσ' ε'ις	
	[κλε]ιτην	εξιδ[οξο]ν	
	[εκατ]ομβης	μ[εγαλης]	
		θυσια[ς]	
(67)	[λοιγ]ον	[ολεθρον]	
(67)	25 [αμ]υνε	α[]	
	[...]. . . []		

18 seqq. See commentary

22 seq. l. -βην, κτλ.

25 l. αμυναι

		ii	
(68)		[το]ισι	τουτοις
(69)		[οιωνο]πολων [σκο]πων	ορ' ν' ιθο-
(69)	30	[ι.χ] αριστος αριστος	εξοχως εξοχος
(70)		ηδη	ηδει
(70)		τα τ εοντα	τα οντα
(70)		προ τ εοντα	'τα' προ[[ε]]γε-
	35	νημενα	
(71)		ηγησατο γενετο	οδηγος ε-
(71)		Ειλιον ισω	εις Ειλιον
(72)		η[[.]]	την αυτου
(72)	40	μαντοσυνην αν	μαντ[ε]ι-
(72)		οι	αυτωι
(72)		πορε	εδωκεν
(73)		[σ]φω	αυτοις
(73)	45	[ευ]	καλως
(73)		[φρο]γεων	φρονων
(73)		[αγορησ]ατο το	εξεκλησιασα-
(73)		[μετ]εειπεν	μετειπεν
(74)	50	[κελεα]ι	κελευεις
(74)		[μυθ]ησασθαι	ειπειν
(75)		[εκατ]ηβελεταο	τοξοτου
(76)		[τοι]	σοι
(75)		[αν]ακτος	βασιλεωσ
(76)	55	[ερε]ω	ερω
(76)		[συ]νθεο	συνθου
(77)		[η] μην	και μην
(77)		[π]ροφρων	προν[ων?]
(77)		[ε]πεσιν	λογοις

(77)	60	[α]ρηξ' ε'ιν	βοηθησ[ειν]
(78)		[οιομ]αι	υπολαμ[βα]νω
(78)		[χολ]ωσ[[α]]μ[[η]]ν	οργι[σθη]σαι
(78)		[οσ]	οστις
(78)		[μεγα]	μεγαλως
(79)	65	[Αργει]ων	τ[ω]ν Ελλ[η]νων
(79)		[κρατει]	κρατει[ε]

38 l. Γλιον εισω 47 l. εξεκκλ. 57 l. η μεν

iii

(79)		Αχαιοι	οι Ελλη[νες]
(80)		χωσεται	οργισθησ[εται]
(81)		ειπερ	εανπερ
(80)	70	χαιρηει	ελαττον[ε]
(82)		οφρα	οπως
(82)		τελεσση	τελειωση
(83)		σαωσις	σωσεις
(84)		τον	τουτον
(84)	75	αμειβομενος	αγτα-
		ποκρεινομενος	
(84)		προσεφη[[γ]]	προσειπεν
(85)		μαλα	λιαν
(85)		θεοπροπιον	το εκ θεου
	80	μαντευμα	
(85)		οισθας	οιδας
(86)		Δειξει φιλε	τω Διει
		προσφιλεστατε	
(87)		ευχομενος	καυχω-
	85	μενος	
(88)		ουτις	ουδεις
(88)		χθονι	τη γη
(88)		δερκομενοι	β[[ρ]]επ[οντες?]
		η βλε' πο' μενοιξ	

(89)	90	βαρειας	ισχυρα[s]
(89)		επ[[οιη]]σ'ε'ι	επενε[[ν]]-
		κ[[.]]	
(92)		ηυδα	ειπεν
(92)		αμοιμων	α[γ]α[θος]
(93)	95	ου ταρ	[ο]υτε
(96)		τουνεκα	τουτρον [χα-]
		ρω	
(97)		πρω	προτερον
(98)		ελικωπιδα	ευο[φθαλ-]
	100	μον	
(98)		δομεν	δουν[αι]
(98)		κουρη	κορη
(99)		απριατην	ανευ πρασεως
(99)		αναποينو[[ν]]	ανευ λυ-
	105	τρων	
(99)		ιερην	μεγαλην
(100)		λασσαμενοι	εξιλασ-
		σαμενοι	
(100)		πεπιθυμεν	π[εισοιμεν]
	110	[.].ξ...ξ.[]
		[]	[]

70 l. χερη̄ 73 l. σωσεις 75 l. απαμ.; ανταποκριν. 81 See commentary 82 l. Δῑ (bis); φίλον; προσφιλεστατον 89 seq. l. δερκομενοιο; [-οντος]; -ομενου. η̄ μενοιε (sic) written first; the writer then added βλεπο as best he could 91 seq. l. επενεγξει? 94 l. αμυμων; in following word traces perhaps suit αγαθος best; see commentary 101 l. δομεναι 102 l. κουρην; κορην 109 l. πεπιθυμεν

		iv	
(101)		[τοισι	του]τοις
(102)		[ευρυ κρ]ξιων	μεγαλης
		]. . . . [κ]ρ[ατ]ων	
(103)	115	[αχθυμε]νος	λυπουμε-
		γος	
(103)		[μενεο]ς	οργης

(103)		α[μφι μελ]αιναι	βαθειαι
]	
(104)	120	οσσε	οφ' θ' αλμοι
(104)		λα[[.]]πετ[ο]ωντι	λαμ[[β]]οντι
(104)		ειικτην	ωμοιωντο
(105)		πρωτιστα	πρωτα
(105)		κακ οσσομενος	κακως υποβλε-
	125	ψας	
(105)		προσειπεν	προσειπεν
(106)		κρηγυον	αληθες
(107)		φιλα	[πρ]οσφιλη
(108)		εσθ[λο]ν	αγαθον
(108)	130	επος	λογον
(109)		θεοπ[ροπε]ων	μαμ[τευο-]
		μενος	
(109)		αγορ[ευε]ις	λε[γεις]
(110)		τουδ[ε]	τουτ[ου]
(111)	135	[ο]ν[εκα]	δεξ[οτι]
(110)		εκηβ[ο]λος	[μακρο-]
		βολος	
(110)		αλγεα	κα[κ]α
(111)		κουρη[s]	κορης
(112)	140	εθελο[ν]	ηθελον
(112)		δεξασθαι	λ[α]βειν
(112)		β[ο]υλομαι	θειω
(113)		οικο[ι .].ξ	εν οικω
(113)		ρα	δη
(113)	145	προβεβουλα	προκε-
		κρεικα	
(114)		κουριδις	της
		εκ παρθενιας	
		γεγαμημενης	
	150	γυναικος	
(114)		αλοχου	γυναικος

(114)	εθεν	αυτης
(114)	χερειων	[ελαττω]ν
(115)	δ[ε]μας	σωμα]
122 l. εϊκτην	135 l. διοτι	145 seq. l. προκεκρικα
	v	
155	[]. . . . [
(116)	το γε	τουτο [γε]
(116)	[αμεινον]	κρει[σσον]
(117)	σ[ων?]	ολοκλη[ρον]
(117) 160	εμμεναι	ειγα]
(118)	[γερας]	τ[εμην]
(118)	αυτικα	ευθ[εως]
(118)	οφρα	οπ[ως]
(118)	οιος	μονος
(119) 165	Αργ' ε'ιων	Ελληνων
(119)	αγεραστος	ατειμος
(119)	εω	ω και υπαρχω
(119)	εοικε	πρεπει
(120)	λευσεται	βλεπεται
(120) 170	ερχεται	απερχεται
(120)	αλλη	εις αλλον το-
		πον
(121)	τον	τουτον
(121)	ημειβετο	ανταπεκρειν[ατο]
(121) 175	ποδαρκης	ο ταχυς κα-
		τα τους ποδας
(122)	κυ[διω]τ[ε]	εν[[τ]]οξοτατε
(122)	φιλοκτεανωτατε	φιλο-
		χρ[ημ]α[τω]τατε
(123) 180	ταρ	δη
(123)	μεγαθυμοι	μεγ' α'λο-
		ψυχοι

(124)	ξυγημα	κυνα
(124)	ει[[σ]]μεν	ουδαμεν
(125) 185	πολιων	πολεων
(125)	εξεπραθομεν	ε[ξ]επ' ο'ρ-
		θησαμεν
(125)	τα	ταυτα
(125)	δεδασται	[μεμερισται]
(126) 190	επεικε	πρ[επει]
(126)	παλλογα	πα[λυσυλλεκτα]
(126)	επαγειρι	συν[αθροιζει(ν?)]
(127)	τηνδε	ταυ[την]
(127)	προες	προ[πεμψον]
(128) 195	τριπλη	τρ[ιπλασιονα]
(128)	τετραπλη	τ[ετραπλασιονα]
159	σων οτ σσον also possible	161 τ[εμην]: cf. 166, below
166 l. ατιμος	169 l. λευσαετε; βλεπετε	174 l. ανταπεκρινατο
183 l. κοινα	184 l. ιδμεν	192 l. επαγειρειν
1	Supplied from Pa.	
3	Cf. D Pa.	
4	So D Pa, Eust. i, p. 41, l. 33.	
5	So Pa.	
6	seq. Sim. D Pa.	
8	Cf. D Ap.	
9	So D Pa.	
10	seq. So Ap; sim. Pa; cf. D on <i>Il.</i> i 43.	
12	ει τ]αρ: probably so understood (rather than ε'ιτ' αρ') by the writer here, as in Schol. A. Similarly ου ταρ in 95, below; see also 180. On ταρ see LSJ, s.v., with references there. D Pa ε'ιτε δ'.	
13	ουτος (alone) D Pa.	
14	So D Pa.	
15	seq. So Pa; cf. 22 seq., below.	
17	So D Pa.	
18	Cf. Ap.	
18	seqq. Here, as perhaps in P. Ryl. 536, 32-34, on which see the editor's note, p. 178, a line interpolated which must have been similar to αρων πρωτογονων ρεξειν κλειτην εκατομβην, which is found in <i>Il.</i> iv 102; <i>ibid.</i> 120; xxiii 864; <i>ibid.</i> 873.	
20	Cf. D (on <i>Il.</i> iv 102): ρεξειν ιερουργησειν, θυσειν; cf. Ap.	
21	So Ap.	
24	Supplied from D Pa Ap; cf. Eust. i, p. 43, l. 38.	
25	Supply απειρξαι (D) or αποσοβησαι (Pa).	
26	seqq. It is hard to see what can have been the content of the fifteen or so lines at the bottom of the column.	
27	εν τούτοις Pa.	
28	seq. So D Pa.	
30	seq. D ε'ξόχως αριστος; Pa ο ε'ξοχάτατος.	
34	seq. D Pa τα προγεγονότα; cf. Eust. i, p. 44, l. 42.	
36	seq. ηγεμων εγ. D.	

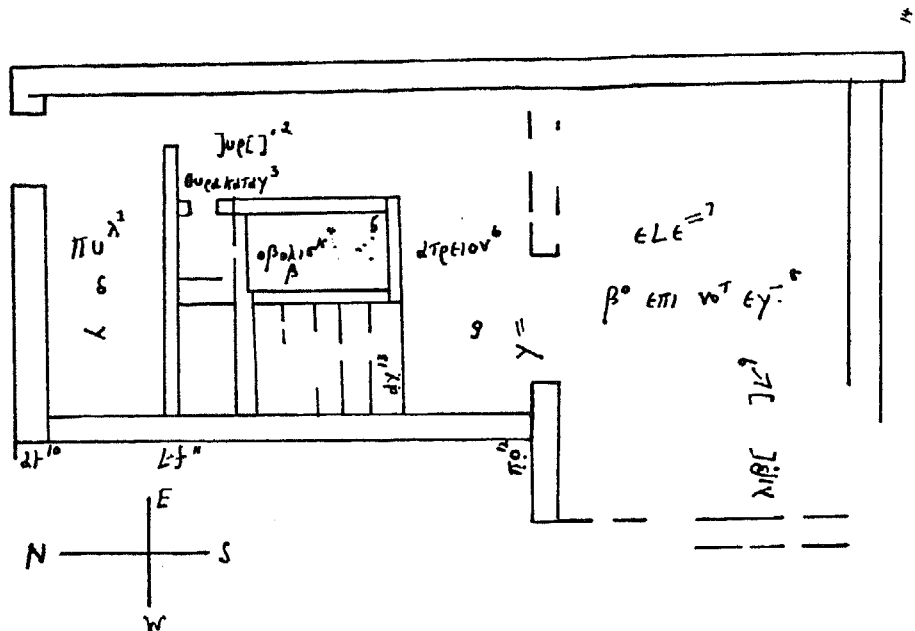
- 38 εἰς τὴν 'I. D Pa.
 39 So Pa.
 40-42 So D Pa.
 44 Pa ἐν αὐτοῖς.
 45 So D Pa Ap.
 46 So Pa.
 50 So D Pa.
 51 So D.
 52 D πῶρρωθεν βάλλοντος, εὐστόχου τοξότου.
 53 D Pa, Eust. i, p. 45, l. 40 evidently differ in not taking this as the pronoun; as Schol. B expressly says it is not.
 54 So D Pa Ap.
 56; 59 So D Pa.
 60 So D Pa; sim. Ap.
 61; 63 So D Pa.
 64 So D Pa Ap.
 65; 67 So D Pa.
 68 Sim. D Pa.
 69 So D Pa.
 70 So D.
 71 So D Pa Ap.
 74 So D Pa.
 75 seq. So Pa.
 77 seq. So D.
 79 seq. So Pa, Schol. B; so, but with θεῶν, D; sim. Ap, Eust. i, p. 48, l. 43.
 81 On the incorrect form οἴσθας, see Schol. A. οἶδας: so Pa.
 82 seq. D τὸν τῷ Διὶ προσφιλέστατον; Pa τὸν τοῦ Διὸς προσφιλή. The vocative suggests that there has been confusion with *Il.* i 74; on which Pa has ὦ τῷ Διὶ προσφιλέστατε, as here.
 86 So D Pa.
 87 So Pa; cf. D Ap.
 88 seq. Pa βλεπομένου; with the alternative here, cf. D: ὀρώντος ἢ ὀρωμένου.
 91 seq. D ἐπιβαλεῖ, ἐπενέγχοι; Pa ἐπιβαλεῖ.
 93 So D Pa.
 94 D ἄμωμος, ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἄψογος; Pa ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἄψογος; Ap ἀμώμητος.
 95 See n. on 12, above. Schol. B, T understood as οὐ ταρ. D Pa οὔτε δή.
 96 seq. So D Pa.
 97 So Schol. T.
 98 So D Pa.
 99 seq. So Pa.
 101 Cf. D.
 102 Cf. D Pa.
 103 So D Pa; cf. Ap.
 104 seq. So Pa.
 106 For ἱερός = μέγας, cf. Schol. A on *Il.* xvi 407 (ἱερόν ἰχθύον), and authorities (Hesychius, *Et. Magn.*, and others) cited in Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, s.v. ἱερός.
 107 D ἐξιλεωσάμενοι, ἐξευμενίσαντες; Pa ἐξευμενισάμενοι; it seems impossible to read any of these here.
 109 πεισοίμεν supplied from D Pa.
 110 Indeterminate traces.
 112 Cf. 27.
 113 seq. D Pa μεγάλως κρατῶν καὶ βασιλεύων.
 115 seq. So D Pa.
 117 seq. On φρένες ἀμφ. D has αἰ ἐν βάθει κείμεναι καὶ συνεταὶ διάνοιαι αὐτοῦ· ἢ τετραγαμέναι διὰ τὴν ὀργήν. Cf. Schol. A.

- 120 So D Pa Ap.
 121 So D Pa; cf. Schol. B, Eust. i, p. 50, l. 34.
 122 So D; sim. Pa.
 124 seq. Pa Ap: κακῶς ὑποβλεψάμενος; see also Schol. B, L, T.
 126 seq. So D Pa.
 128 So D.
 129-131 So D Pa.
 133 So D.
 134 So D Pa.
 135 Restored from D Pa, but doubtful.
 136 For supplement, cf. Pa on *Il.* i 75 (ἐκατηβελέταο ἀνακτος): τοῦ μακροβόλου βασιλέως.
 138 So Pa; cf. Ap.
 143 So Ap; cf. D Pa.
 144 So Pa.
 145 seq. So D; cf. Eust. i, p. 52, l. 46.
 147 seqq. Cf. Pa: τῆς ἐκ παρθενίας συναφθείσης μοι; D παρθενηκῆς.
 151 So D.
 152 Cf. D Ap, Eust. i, p. 53, l. 11 f.
 153 For supplement cf. D, and 70, above.
 154 Supplied from D Pa.
 157 D Pa τοῦτο alone; but cf. 13.
 158 So Pa.
 159 So Ap. δλόκληρος in this sense is familiar from private letters and the New Testament.
 160 So D.
 161 So Pa.
 162 So D Pa Ap.
 163 So D Pa Ap; and cf. 71, above.
 164 So D Pa Ap.
 165 D Pa τῶν 'E.; cf. 65, above.
 166 So Pa.
 167 Ap ὦ, ὑπάρχω; D Pa ὑπάρχω alone.
 168 So D.
 169 Cf. D, Eust. i, p. 55, l. 13.
 170 So D.
 173 So Pa Ap.
 174 For ἀνταποκρίνεσθαι with the meaning 'answer', see Bauer, *Wb. z. N. T.*, s.v. It is not found in the documents. Pa ἀπεκρίνατο; D ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς ἀπεκρ.
 175 Cf. D.
 177 So D Pa.
 178 seq. So D Pa Ap.
 180 The correspondence with the MS. A is interesting; see LSJ s.v. ταρ; Cobet, *Misc. Crit.*, p. 315. D Pa read γάρ.
 181 seq. So D Pa.
 183 D Pa: κοινὰ χρήματα; cf. Schol. L T; Eust. i, p. 55, l. 45.
 185-187 So D Pa.
 188 So Pa Ap.
 189 Supplied from D Pa.
 190 So Pa.
 191 So D Pa.
 192 D Pa ἐπισυναθροίξειν.
 193 So Pa.
 194-196 So D Pa.

DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND
BYZANTINE PERIODS

2406. GROUND-PLAN OF A HOUSE

22.5 × 13 cm.

Second century. *Plate*

A ground-plan of a house is a novelty among Greek papyri. On the plan drawn on this papyrus, which to judge from the writing it bears should be assigned to the second century, walls are shown by two lines drawn in ink with the help of a rule, the intervening space being filled with a yellow colour wash, while open spaces are left for doors; designations are added and figures give measurements. The thickness assigned to the walls is graded according to their relative structural importance. It is of interest to contrast this ground-plan with the plans of Egyptian temples, tombs, and shrines of the Pharaonic period, in which, though the rooms are shown in section, doorways are drawn as if in perspective standing on their own baseline.

The detached house here shown is rectangular in shape, and has a rectangular extension in width at the end farthest from the door, which gives the building the

shape of the Greek letter Γ (cf. the [οἰκία] γαμμοειδής of BGU 1037, 8). The single entrance door, probably at the north end, gives access to what are probably three successive courtyards rather than rooms, the first of them being described as πυλ(ών), the second as ἀτρείον, the third being unnamed. In the second courtyard, immediately to the right of its entrance door, a further door named θύρα καταγ(αίου) leads down to the cellar; in the centre a rectangle completely enclosed by a double line is marked ὀβολίσκος(ος) and may perhaps represent the characteristic central water-tank or impluvium of an atrium-type house. From the lower side of this rectangle to the lower wall of the building six lines are drawn, one effect of which is to create an enclosed oblong chamber in the lower left-hand corner; the purpose of these lines is not clear, but it seems unlikely that they represent a staircase to an upper story. There is no description of the third court, where the lettering is concerned solely with measurements.

When this plan is compared with the ground-plans of houses revealed by excavation and with the terms for parts of houses occurring in the documents, its most surprising feature is seen to be its atrium. This term has not yet occurred in the papyri except in connexion with religious or public buildings. The central court of houses in the documents is styled αἶθριον which is not a translation of atrium but means a courtyard open to the sky; and such courtyards have been found not infrequently by excavators. In the atrium-type house, however, characteristic of Italy, the courtyard was roofed, and the central opening in the rafters was originally an outlet for smoke. It is to be noted that excavations have of necessity been confined to villages, and that Oxyrhynchus was a metropolis. Supposing the building shown in this plan stood in Oxyrhynchus, it might have been the house of a Roman citizen or a Romanized veteran; less probably, for there is nothing else to connect it with public uses, it might even have been a public edifice. The designation πυλ(ών) in any case makes it likely that the building is to be located somewhere in Egypt.

The arrangement of the writing in the right-hand courtyard suggests that north was on the left-hand side, south on the right, west at the foot, and east at the top of the sheet. In the diagram in P. Lille 1 north is marked at the right, east at the foot, etc. The measurements set out in this right-hand courtyard suggest that the single letters found elsewhere are also figures. If they are measurements, however, it is not easy to reconcile them with each other or to interpret them in absolute terms as dimensions of the building. $\delta = 4$ under πυλ(ών) applied to the distance between its parallel walls (the vertical lines on the plan), $\beta = 2$ under ὀβολίσκος(ος) applied to the distance between the two horizontal limits, and $\delta = 4$, upside down under ἀτρείον applied to the distance from the ὀβολίσκος(ος) wall to the exit door could be taken to be the same unit; but it is not a unit that will fit the figure $\epsilon\gamma' = 5\frac{1}{2}$ of the horizontal measurements of the third courtyard, or the two γ 's = 3 (one in the πυλ(ών), one by the exit door from the atrium). In absolute terms, 4 or 5 cubits (presumably ἐμβαδικοί or

οἰκοπεδικοί πηγεῖς, cf. Luckhard, pp. 16–19) seem absurdly small figures, both in themselves and compared with measurements in the papyri (e.g. P. Lond. 50, 7, vol. i, p. 49, in which a house measures 21×13 cubits, its ἀλή 4×13 cubits). The first of these difficulties might be met by supposing that, in spite of appearances to the contrary, especially the graded thickness of the walls, the plan is not to scale, but such an explanation will not meet the second difficulty. A possible solution is that the plan was intended to illustrate a division of house property, that the single figures stand for fractions ($\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$), and the measurements are of portions allocated to an interested party. Among the διαυρέσεις of house-property (a recent list has been compiled by A. Calderini, *Studi in onore V. Arangio-Ruiz* iii 273 seqq.) houses are frequently mentioned as divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, etc. (e.g. P. Lond. 978 iii 232 seqq.). Sometimes the division is achieved by assigning different rooms to the parties, sometimes by measurement straight through the house (e.g. 503). If this explanation is correct, the plan was not an architect's drawing for the use of building workmen, but was intended to accompany other legal documents, even though none is known to be connected with it. The inadequacy of the plan as an architectural working drawing (e.g. the absence of room-divisions in the atrium, or an internal subdivision in the third courtyard) is also in favour of this view.

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1 πύλων δ, below, in a vertical direction, γ. πύλων is normally interpreted as a monumental tower-gateway. Schütz, p. 20, quoting the layout of Ptolemy's great ship in Athenaeus 204 d–206 c, in which a προσάς is reached through a πύλων with four doors, notes that a pylon is not merely a doorway, but may have an extension in depth of 3–4 cubits. The papyrus seems to designate the courtyard, not a tower, as πύλων. The interpretation by which the term is extended to cover the courtyard into which the tower-entrance leads would give a better sense than the normal one to some of the passages collected by Luckhard, p. 54, Schütz, p. 20 (e.g. 495, 8 a store-room ἐπάνω τοῦ πύλωνος) and would suit all of them.

2 Reading uncertain. All that can be made out is ν followed by a tall vertical, and after a space of two letters, a spot of ink high up, perhaps part of a contraction. [θ]ύρα[α δ]τ(ρεῖον) might be possible.

θύρα ἀλλ(είας) (cf. BGU 1007, 16) or πα(ρόδιος) (cf. P. Teb. 45, 22) are less likely, on both palaeographical and factual grounds.

3 θύρα καταγ(αίου), door to the cellar. Cf. Luckhard, p. 67. The treads of the staircase are not shown. It may have been a straight stair occupying the whole opening, but is more likely to have turned round a central pillar.

4 ὀβολισκ() β, probably ὀβολισκ(ος) and a measurement rather than ὀβολισκ(οι) β. As an important feature of a house which can serve as a delimiting point, the term occurs in two papyrus contracts for division of house property, but both are too damaged to throw a clear light on its meaning: PSI 698 (also from Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 392), 16 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου τοῦ ὀβολισκου. [; P. Lond. 391 (ii, p. 329, 6th cent.), 1 τοῦτ' ἔστιν (l. ἔστιν) τὸ μέρος τοῦ προειρημένου Νααράου [ε]ξ ὀλοκληρ[ω]ν καὶ μόνον ἔτι μὴν [sic] περὶ τοῦ πιλῶνος (l. πύλ-) καὶ τοῦ βιλίσκου μετὰ [παντός αὐτ]ῶν τοῦ δικαίου. In LSJ the sense 'water-pipes', 'conduit' (a sense which the word bears in Diod. xix 45 οἱ ἐν τοῖς τεύχεσιν ὀβελίσκοι) and in an inscription from Corcyra, IG ix¹ 692, 14) is hesitantly suggested. Open tile conduits were found at Karanis in houses of the second and third centuries A.D. which were perhaps connected with the temple of Pnepheros and Petesouchos; in more than one of them the conduits were arranged in rectangular form and backed by a low wall, less than a metre in height, while the space (also about a metre) between this wall and the side wall of the chamber had been filled with earth to form a mastaba or bench (*Karanis 2*, pp. 35 seqq.). It would be hazardous to suggest such an interpretation of the rectangular space in this plan, which is in the centre of the courtyard. Since it is completely sealed and without doorway it can hardly be a separate chamber. Possibly the sense 'water-tank' might be a semantic extension from the idea of 'conduit'; it is certainly situated just where the impluvium is to be expected. It is to be noted that in the papyri most houses of any size are equipped with their own φρέαρ (e.g. 502, 18), though it is usually situated in the ἀλή.

5 μλ. and perhaps a figure below.

6 ἀτρεῖον, below and upside down δ = 4, below and in a vertical direction γ = 3. In the papyrus use of the term ἀτρεῖον is confined to the Atrium Magnum of Alexandria (see Calderini, *Dis. Topograf.* s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια, p. 95, and add the following references which are not from birth certificates, e.g. P. Fouad 21, 4 ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀ. ἐπὶ βήματος, P. Yale Inv. 1528 (*JRS* xxviii (1938), pp. 41 seqq.), 15) and to that representation of Isis known as the *Isis ἐν ἀτρίῳ*, IGR i 1048, 1175.

7 ελε', i.e. ε (ἡμισυ) (πέμπτον) = $\frac{5}{10}$.

8 βο(ρρά) ἐπὶ νό(τον) εγ' = north to south $5\frac{1}{2}$.

9 (at right angles to previous entry) λιβ(ός) ἐπ' ἀπ(ηλιώτην) .]L," west to east [.] $\frac{1}{2}$.

10 α† = $1\frac{1}{2}$ (a fraction) (?).

11 L—f = a fraction between $\frac{1}{2}$ and one.

12 πρ, sense unknown.

13 αγ = $1\frac{1}{2}$ (?) or an abbreviation.

14 Traces of letters.

2407. MEMORANDA OF PROCEEDINGS OF A PUBLIC MEETING

37 × 25 cm.

Late third century.

Although its state of preservation is poor, we have on both recto and verso of this papyrus, which is of fair quality, almost the whole width of a broad column of thirty lines, written in a clear sloping hand which Mr. C. H. Roberts and Mr. T. C. Skeat (who has suggested several valuable readings and interpretations) would assign to c. A.D. 270 or later; the use of διασημότατος as the title of the Prefect is another indication of its date, see Roberts in *The Merton Papyri* i 160; see also note on l. 57, below. The scribe is sometimes inaccurate, and inconsistent in his use of abbreviations. Line 1 of the recto, which is written along the fibres, begins in mid-sentence, and so

one preceding column at least must have been lost; line 1 of the verso continues from l. 30 of the recto; the fragmentary last line of the verso is short and so presumably ends the document. The text consists of the *ὑπομνήματα* of a meeting of a public body, and records the utterances of a *σύνδικος* named Menelaus and his interlocutors, mostly designated as past holders of the office of hypomnematographus or of unspecified *ἀρχαί*, and of an assembly (*σύλλογος*) and of the 'members of the first and second tribes'. The date is evidently the last day of the official year, when the period of service of the first tribe comes to an end (17; 25); this is also the last day of the syndic's office (30; cf. 48). The matters with which our text is concerned are thus relevant to those dealt with by Miss E. P. Wegener in her three articles: 'Notes on the *φυλαί* of the Metropoleis', in *Actes du V^e Congrès de Papyrologie*, 1937, pp. 512 seqq. (cited here as *Actes*); 'The *βουλευταί* of the *μητροπόλεις*', *Symbolae Van Oven*, Leiden 1946, pp. 160 seqq. (cited as *Symb.*); 'The *βουλή* and the nomination to the *ἀρχαί* in the *μητροπόλεις* of Roman Egypt', *Mnemosyne*, S. iv, vol. i (1948), pp. 15 seqq., 115 seqq., 297 seqq. (cited as *Mnem.*); see also A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 329 seqq., 478. This text, besides adding to our knowledge, presents some problems. Why, if the body in question here is the *βουλή*, are the terms *βουλή*, *βουλευταί*, so freely used in other texts which concern the senate of Oxyrhynchus, the presumable origin of this papyrus¹ (see Part XII, pp. 26 seqq.), not found here, and *σύλλογος*² used instead? It might be suggested that the present meeting is attended by only a part of the *βουλή*—after a financial statement by the syndic the affairs of two tribes only are discussed. This seems ruled out by the fact that it discusses matters too important to have been dealt with by anything but a plenary meeting. The explanation is perhaps rather that the present body is not too small, but too large to be called the *βουλή*; compare 41, where the *δήμος*, not the *βουλή*, is in evidence. At this meeting perhaps both are present.

The *ἄρχοντες*, whose recruitment and allotment to tribes is the occasion of so much discussion, are presumably the municipal magistrates whose work had by now declined from an honour into a ruinous burden to be avoided by any means; the term being taken in its normal sense and not as a synonym for *βουλευταί*, as it probably should be in examples cited by Wegener, *Symb.* 165; in that article it is shown that the majority of *βουλευταί* were past or present *ἄρχοντες*, but the appointment of non-*βουλευταί* to the *ἀρχαί* had long since been general. But when a demand is made that certain persons elected to *ἀρχαί* should attend meetings (*συνεδρεύειν*) or be penalized, what are the meetings in question? Are they of the *βουλή*? If so, this would mean that it is demanded that newly recruited *ἄρχοντες* should automatically become members of the *βουλή*. But it is hard to be certain; the words *βουλή*, *βουλευταί*, *βουλευεῖν* are not used, and

¹ As Skeat points out, we cannot rule out the possibility that this text originated, not in Oxyrhynchus, but (conceivably) in Ptolemais.

² Only two examples of this term are given in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*; one is a fragmentary and uninformative inscription; the other, BGU 1073 (third century), refers to something plainly unrelated (see Viereck, *Klio* viii 413 seqq.); so does a third, PSI 1265 (fifth century).

συνεδρεύειν, though it can refer to meetings of the senate (cf. 1417, 2; P. Warsaw 15) might also refer to meetings of other bodies. This text seems not to be informative about the number of the city *φυλαί* (for which see Jouguet, *La Vie Municipale*, pp. 282 seqq. 309, 410, 454; Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 173; Wilcken, *Grdz.*, pp. 348 seq.; Wegener, *Actes*, pp. 514 seqq.); only two are mentioned here. The purely local basis for their membership which some have postulated cannot have applied to these *ἄρχοντες*, for whom the representatives of the tribes can haggle with obvious disregard for their places of origin or residence.

The syndic (for whom see Rees, *JJP* vi, pp. 77 seqq.; Wegener, *Mnem.*, pp. 23 seq.) appears as a most important person in this text. His close connexion with the prefect and his immediate responsibility to the latter, between whom and the assembly he acts as a medium, are repeatedly stressed. He has evidently much influence in fiscal matters (cf. Rees, art. cit., p. 78) and over the appointment of the *ἄρχοντες*. No mention is made of a colleague or colleagues of the syndic (see, however, P. Meyer, *Gr. Texte aus Äg.*, No. 67), or of a successor to him. The prytanis, who in 1413 appears together with him, is not mentioned here at all.

Recto

(δρ.) ἀπ—'Επειφ β (δρ.) ἀ[. . .]—'Ε]πειφ τῷ (δρ.) ἀσζ—Μεσορῆ [.. (δρ.) .]σμ—
 Μ[εσ]ορῆ ε (δρ.) ἀ. . . . καὶ εἰσδ[έδωκα] τ[ὰ] μετ[ε]α[. . .] ἀπὸ τῶν [κ]ελευ-
 [σθέντων]
 ὑπὸ [τ]ο[ῦ] δ[ια]σ[η]μοτάτου ἢ[γε]μόνος δο[θῆ]να[ι] ἀπὸ [..] . . . ογο[.] μετὰ τὰ ἐξοδια-
 [σθέντα] τάλ[αντα] δ ἀπ[. . .] . . . β. φησ[ι] τὰ λοιπὰ τάλαν[τα]
 [. . . .] ητ[. . .] υ[. . .] τάλ[αντ] λθ (δρ.) ἐτ, ὡς λοιπὸν τάλ[αντων] α (δρ.) ἀτμ. — ὁ
 σύλλογος ἐφώνησ[εν]· εὐγενῆ σύν[δ]ικε, καλῶς ἐδίδκῃσας· τῷ ἀγνώ καὶ π[ι]στῷ
 καὶ φιλο-]
 πόλι ἐμαρτυ[ρήθη]. Μενέλαο[ς] σύνδικος εἶπ[εν]· ὁ μὲν λόγος οὗτος παρετέθη ὑμῖν,
 προτεθήσεται δὲ κ[αὶ] δη[μο]σ[ι]α καὶ καταχωρισθήσεται· ἔτι [δὲ ὁ λόγος]
 5 τῶν ἡ ταλ[άντων] καὶ τῶν λ ἀνε[χ]θήσεται τῷ [κυ]ρίῳ μ[ο]υ διασημοτάτ[ου]
 ἡγεμόνι, καὶ δ[ο]κιμάσ[ε]ι [αὐτοῦ] τὸ μεγαλεῖον. ἄλλο· [Μενέλαος]
 σύνδικος εἶπ[εν]· οἰδὲ ἐνὶ ἀγνοεῖται, οἷαν φροντίδα ἔχει ἢ συνδικία {συν}, καὶ
 <δ>πως ἄ[ν]ησας τὰς κελ[ε]ύσε[ι]ς [τὰς] ἡγ[ε]μονικὰς κ[αὶ] τῶν ἄλλ[ων]
 διετέλεσα δια[ν]ύων, ἔτι μὴν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν δι[οί]κησιν τῆς πόλεως· διαμεμῆ-
 σθ[αί] ἐ[ἠ]νίκα [δ]ί[κ]ον τ[ὸ] λεύκωμα τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς τὰς δύο
 φυλ[ὰς] κ[αὶ] ἀρη[νέχθη] τῷ κυρίῳ μου διασημοτάτῳ ἡγ[ε]μόνι, ἐφ' ὅσον ψήφος
 ἐγένετο τῆς νομῆς, ὅτι τοῖσιν εὐχομένων ὑμῶν [ἐπεγένοντο]

ταῖς δυοῖ [φυ]λαῖς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπαυξηθέντας, δώδεκα [τὸν ἀρ]ιθμόν. ἀναγκαῖον
 ἡγησάμην, καὶ ἰδὴ καὶ τῷ [τε] διελέλ[η]σα ἐπ[ὶ τ]ῶν ὑπομνημά[των, τοῦ]
 10 χρόνου [πε]πληρωμένου καταλέξαι τοὺς ἐπιγεν[ο]μένους εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 τὴν ἰσομοιρ[ί]αν ἔχειν καὶ μὴ [τὸ] δεύ[τε]ρον ἐκτεῖ[σαι, ἀλλὰ]
 ἀπὸ μιᾶ[s . .]σμιας· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ προ[γ]γενόμε[ε]νοι· καὶ ἐξ[ῆ]ς λέγοντος, ὁ σύλλογος
 ἐφώνησεν· εὐγενῆ σύνδικε, καλ[ῶ]ς ἐδιώκησα[s]· ὠκεα[ναὶ φιλο-]
 πόλει, ὠκεαναὶ ἰδιοπ[ο]ιέ, [ἀ]ξιε τοῦ ἡγεμόνος μιᾶ ἀπ' αἰῶνο[s] συνδικία· τοιούτους
 δεῖ γίγ[ε]σθαι. Ἄπολλ[ό]δος ἄρ[ξ]ας εἶπ[ε]ν· ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημά-
 τω[ν] ἀσφαλί[ζο]μαι, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν δώδεκα [Ε]ὐήμερος ἀδελφὸς δι' ἐπιστάλ-
 ματος τ[ο]ῦ νῦν συνδίκου ἤδη ἐλιτούργη[σε]ν· καὶ [ἀν]τ[ὶ] γράφον ἀξιοῦμεν
 παραθέσθαι ἡμῖν. Σερῆνος γενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[ε]ν· ἐπεὶ οὖν προ-
 κατελέγη οὐ[τ]ῶ[ς] ἐξ[ῆ]ς ταύτην, ἀξιοῦ[μ]εν καὶ ἡμεῖς [Πό]σω Εὐαγγέλου
 15 εἰς τῆ[ν] ἀλλ[η]ν φυλὴν καταλεγεῖν. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἐφώνησαν· οὐτ[ῶ]ς·
 κόλλασον καὶ ἡμῖν Πόσω Εὐαγγέλου. [Σ]ερῆνος γενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος
 εἶπ[ε]ν· ἐπ[ὶ] πωον ὁ σύνδικος καὶ ἡ ἐγενε[ν]· δαπανή-
 σας τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἠθέλησεν σήμερον διελεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἐπαυξη[θ]έντας·
 [ἐπεὶ] δὲ ἔξ[ῆ]ς εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ταύτην κατελέγησεν, [ἀναγκαῖ-]
 ὄν ἐστιν καὶ τοὺς ἴσους γ' κατατεθῆναι εἰς τὴν ἄλλην φυλὴν. ὁ σύλλ[ο]γος ἐφώνησεν·
 οὕτως οὕτως, εὐγενῆ σύνδικε. Σ[ερ]ῆνος γενό-
 20 μενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[ε]ν· εἰσὶ δὲ Ἰσιδω[ρο]ς καὶ Ἰσχυρίων καὶ Εὐδαί-
 μων Καλλιμάχου. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης φυλῆς ἐφώνησαν· Ἰσι-
 δωρος ἀλλ[ό]τριός ἐστιν· ὁ ἐπιμελητῆς ἡμῶ[ν] παρὰ τοῖς ἴπ[ο] . . . ἐστίν. Μενέλαος
 σύνδικος εἶπ[ε]ν· τ[ὸ] ὑπό[τα]γμα ἐποιήσαμεν ὑπ[ὲ]ρ τοῦ τὴν [ἰσο-]
 τιμίαν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ἰσομοιρίαν τὰς δύο φ[υ]λά[s]· καὶ κατὰ τὸ δικαιοτάτον ἔδει[ξ]ε
 ἀπαξιαπλῶς τοὺς ἐπεξε[υ]ρεθέν[τ]ας κλη[ρ]ῶ[ν] λαχ[εῖν],
 καθὰ ἢ σύνθαισι τοῦ πάντος λευκώματος καὶ τ[ῶ]ν δύο φ[υ]λῶν ἐγέν[ε]το ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μὴ πρὸς χάριν μήτε πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν τοῖς μὲν τα[ύ]τη[s]
 εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνης· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἠθελήσατε τοὺς προκαταλημ[φ]θέν[τ]ας ταῖς
 [λ]ειτουργία[s] εἶ[ν]αι τῆς πρώτης φυλῆς, καὶ οἱ ἴ[σοι] δοθήσονται
 τῇ ἐτέρᾳ φυλῇ· οἱ δὲ λιτουργήσαντές εἰσιν Ἰσχυρίων καὶ Εὐδαίμων, [ὁ] μὲν οὖν
 Ἰσχυρίων καὶ Εὐδαίμων Καλλιμάχου καταλεγῶν[ται] εἰς τὴν π[ρ]ώτην
 25 τὴν τότε καὶ [ἔ]τι νῦν σήμερον λειτουργοῦσαν· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων [δώ]σομ[ε]ν καὶ τῇ
 δευ[τε]ρᾷ τῇ ἀρχο[μ]ένῃ λειτ[ο]υ[ρ]εῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀ[ρ]ιων Πόσω

Εὐαγγέλου καθ[ὼ]ς ἠθελήσατε καὶ Ἰσιδωρον Ἀμαραντοῦ. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώ[τ]ης
 φυλῆς ἐφώνησαν· οὕτως οὐ[τ]ῶ[ς] ἐπ[ὶ] τῶν ἐπ[ὶ] γ[εν]ῆ [σ]ύνδ[ικ]οι[s],
 καλῶ[s] ἐδι[ώ]κησ[α]ς. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας φυλῆς ἐφώνησαν· [.] σ . . π . . ο ἰ
 . . [.] . σ θ ω · ἀν[ί]σως ἐποίη[σ]α[s]. Μενέλαος σύνδικος εἶπ[ε]ν·
 [ἐ]γὼ μὲν [ο]ῦν τὸ ἴσον ἠθέλησα δοῦναι ταῖς φυλαῖς· ἀλλ' ἐπε[ὶ]δὴ . . [ο]ρεφῆ[.]
 εχ[ε] . [.] νοντος κ[α]ὶ ὁ ἄλλος πρ[ο] . . [. . .] δ[ο]θήσεται
 [τ]ῇ πρώτῃ. Πικτρομήνιος Νεμεσιανὸς γενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[ε]ν·
 τοῦτ[ο] οὐκ [ἐ]χρη[ν] σήμερον πεποιήσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπ[η]νίκα οὐ[τ]οι
 30 ὦν[ο]μάσθησαν, καὶ οὐκ ὅτε σὺ πέπασσο τῆς λειτουργ[ε]ίας, τοῦτο ἔδει γενέσθαι.
 Μενέλαος σύνδικος εἶπ[ε]ν· Πόσω Εὐαγγέλου δοθήσεται τῇ μι[κ]ρῇ φ[υ]λῇ τῇ
 1 μετ[ε] . [: doubtful letter τ or π; horizontal stroke above 2 Before ογο[.], perhaps λ
 6 οιδε: l. οὐδέ 9 l. ἐπαυξηθέντες 12 ἰδιοπ[ο]ιέ 14 Before ἡμῖν, what looks like an in-
 completely made χ, left uncanceled 15 seq. κο-]λλασον: see commentary 16 ὁ σύνδ[ικ]ος: ο
 very large, as if beginning a line 20 (end) ὑπ[ε]ρ 22 l. σύνθαισι 23 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ; και οι
 ἴσοι 24 [ο] μεν ουν Ἰσχυρίων 26 Ἰσιδωρον 28 ἀλλ' ἐπε[ὶ]δὴ 30 οὐκ ὅτε: l. οὐχ ὅτε.

Verso

[λειτουργ]οῦση καὶ Εὐδαίμων δοθήσεται τῇ [ἐτέρᾳ] μ[ε]ν [Ν]εμεσιανός [Α]πόλλ-
 λωνος' [γ]ενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[ε]ν· φθάσας ἡσφαλισάμην ὅτι
 τοῦτ[ο] οὐκ ἐχρη[ν] σή-
 [μερον γε]νέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα οὕτοι ὠγομάσθησ[α]ν ἐχ[ρ]ῆ[ν] αὐτῶν τὸν κληρον
 [γ]ενέσθαι· Μενέλαος σύνδικος εἶπ[ε]ν· ἐγὼ [μ]ε[ν] οὖν μ . . [. . .] . . [. . .] .
 . [.] . ε
 [ἐπὶ τῶν γε]νομένων ὑπομνημάτων ἡνίκα [τ]ὸ λεύ[κ]ω[μα] διῆλον εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς
 προνεγκάμενος ὅτι ὅσοι ἐφευρίσκονται μετὰ [τὸν] κλη[ρ]ον τῶν ἀλλων
 [.] . [.] διαιρεθήσονται εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς [ὑ]π[ε]ρ τοῦ τὸ ἰσότιμον εἶ[ν]αι, καὶ κατὰ
 τοῦτο μεμνη[μ]ένος ὦν τότε διελέγησ[α]ν τ[ο]ὺς ἐπεξε[υ]ρεθέντας
 35 [διῆλον εἰς] τὰς δύο φυλάς. Νεμεσιανὸς ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[ε]ν· φθάσας
 ἡσφαλισάμην. Μενέλαος σύνδικος εἶπ[ε]ν· τῶν οὖν ἄλλων ἐξ[ῆ]ς(?) χ[α] . ε . ν
 σετ . κλη
 [Νεμεσιανός] γενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[ε]ν· τὰ [τε]κνα τῶν πατέρων τὰ
 φθάσαντα ἤδη εἰς τὴν φυλὴν λειτουργ[ε]ίτω, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τῶν γονέων καὶ
 ἀναγ-
 [καίων] ἐχρη[ν] ἤδη τοῦτ[ο] φθάσαντας συνεδρεύειν. ὁ σύλλογος ἐφώνησεν· οὕτως
 οὕτως, πάντες συνεδρεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς λ, συνεδρ[ε]ύ[ε]ταισαν

[ἀπό λ τοῦ Φαώ]φι μηνός· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτιθέστωσαν. Μενέλαος σὺνδικος εἶπ(ε)·
 ποίους οἶν βούλε[σ]θαι συνεδρεύειν; ὁ σὺλλ[ο]γός ἐφώνησεν· τοὺς μαλλοκουρη-
 [τας(?) καὶ τ]οὺς ἦδη φ[θ]άσαντας. Φιλόξενος ἀ[ρ]ξας εἶ[π(εν)]· ἀ[ναγκαῖον [ο]ἶν
 ἐστὶν ὑποβαλεῖν τοὺς ε[....]τα[ς] αὐτούς. Μενέλαος σὺνδικος εἶ[π(εν)]·
 40 [.....]εχει ὁ εν..ω. Ἡ[ρω]ν Εὐημέρου εἶπ(ε)· κατὰ τί γὰρ ὅλοι ο[ἱ] συνή-
 δρευσαν, ἢ τίνος κελεύσα[ν]το[ς] μεχρι σήμερο[ν] οὐ συνήδρε[υ]σαν; καὶ τ[οῦ]το
 οὐκ ἔσται
 [οὐδενὶ συ]νχωρη[σα]ι ο. ἀλ[λ'] ἦδη ἐχρη[ν] <αὐ>τοὺς σ[υ]νδρεύειν, καὶ εἰ μὴ συνή-
 δρευσαν, ἐκτεθῆναι. Μενέλα[ο]ς σὺνδικος εἶπ(εν)· ἀπαξιαπῶς [οἱ ἐκ] τοῦ
 λευ-
 [κώματος ἀ]νερχθῆ[ν]τες τῷ κυρίῳ μ[ο]υ ἢ[γ]εμόνι ὅλοι συνήδρευον, καὶ οἱ μὴ
 συνεδρεύσαντες ἐξετέθησαν. Πακτουμήμι[ο]ς Νεμεσ[ια]νός [γ]ενόμενος
 ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ(εν)· οὐκ ἐχρη[ν] σήμερον τοῦτο [γ]ενέσθαι. Μενέλαος
 σὺνδικος εἶπ(ε)· μὴ ταρατ[τ]ῆς τὸν σύλλογον. Νεμεσιανός εἶπ(ε)· μὴ σκα[ν]-
 δαλίξῃς τὸν σὺλλο-
 [γον]. Ἡρων Εὐημέρου εἶπ(ε)· πάντες συνεδρευέτωσαν. [Πακτο]υμήμιος Νεμε-
 σιανός γενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ(ε)· διὰ τί γὰρ ἔκτοτε [τοῦ]το [οὐ]κ
 ἐγένε[τ]ο
 45 [μεχρι το]ῦ δεῦρο; βουλόμενος τούτους σκεπ[τ]α[ξ]ειν σήμερο[ν] μετὰ τὴν συνδικίαν
 τοῦτο ἐποίησας. Μ[ενέλα]ος σὺνδικος εἶπ(εν)· ἀπ[α]ξ[α]π[ι]λ[ω]ς οἱ ἐρξ-
 [θέντες] καὶ καταλεγέντας εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς [σ]υ[ν]ήδρευσαν, ὅσοι δ' ἐξ ἐλειποτά-
 κτησαν, οὗτοι ἐξετέθησαν· καὶ σὺ εἰς πιστευθῆς, ὅσοι δ' ἐν δ[υ]νῆθῆς
 [ἐπε]ξ[ε]υρεῖν τῆ σεαυτοῦ πίστει, κατάλεξον. Πακτο[υ]μήμιος Ν[εμε]σιανός γενό-
 (μενος) ὑπομνηματογράφος (εἶπεν)· ἐ[ὰ]ν πιστευθῶ, οὐ παρὰ σοῦ αὐτὸ ἔχω.
 Μ[ενέλα]ος σὺνδικ(ος) εἶπ(εν)·
 [ὡ]ς οὐδ' ἐ[γὼ] παρὰ σοῦ· ὁ γὰρ ἀξιολογώτα[τ]ο[ς] σὺλλ[ο]γός οἶδε[ν] ὅ[τι] [π]ω[ς]
 ἐδικώκησα τὴν συνδικίαν. Ἡρων Εὐημέρου εἶπ(εν)· ἡσφαλ[ισ]άμη[ν] ὅτι
 [.]ω τῷ [συ]λλόγω ἐν ᾧ ἐξετέθη [ο]ἶδεν [εἰ]σήχθη. Μενέλαος [σύνδικ]ος εἶπ(ε)·
 μ[ὴ] συγχ[ύ]σῃς τὸν σύλλογον προφάσει εἴκοσι ... σων
 50 [.]ων· [εἰ]σ[τ]ό[ν]εγκον τὸ πρόστιμον. Ἡρων Εὐημέρου εἶπ(ε)· σὺ εἶ ὁ πάν[τα]
 συγχ[ύ]ων. Μ[ενέλα]ος σὺνδικος εἶπ(εν)· ἦδη ἀρχὴ συσκευῆς καὶ συγχύσεως
 ε[.]κ[.]η[.] ἐπισ[τ]ο[ν] πεπαύμεθα ἦδη καὶ ... [.]ε[.]ς[τ]ο[ν] πρόσ[τι]μον [εἰ]σ[τ]ό[ν]εγκον.
 [Ἡρ]ων Εὐημέρου εἶπ(εν)· οὐδὲν ὀφείλω. Μενέλαος σὺνδικος εἶπ(εν)·
 ἐγὼ σὲ ἀπ[αι]τῶ· ὁ ἡγεμὼν σὲ ἀπ[αι]τεῖ· μὴ [με] κολ[ο]κεύη[ς]. Πακτο[υ]μήμιος

Νεμεσιανός γενόμενος) ὑπομνηματογράφος (εἶπεν)· ἐκάστου ἡσφαλ[ισ]ατο
 ἰδίῳ κινδύνῳ.
 [Μενέλαος] σὺνδικος εἶπ(ε)· γένοιτο. τὴν τύχη[ν] τοῦ συλλόγου ἐπαυξήσει τὸ
 ἐπεξευρεῖν πλείονας ἄρχοντας· τοῦτό μοι [ε]παινος καὶ κλέος ἐστ[ί]ν,
 [πλέ]ον [ἐξ]ε[υ]ρε[ί]ν καὶ μὴ ἐλαττονῖν τ[.....]ν..ω[.].[.....]ε[.].[.....]ρ ἡμῖν
 διελεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς· εἰ [δὲ] καὶ ἕτεροι ὑποβ[α]λλοῦσιν,
 55 [.....]ονται· ὅσους μέντοιγε ἐγὼ ὑπέβαλον], το[σ]οῦ[τοι].....[.....]ιν τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐξ(?) .ο οἱ γὰρ ἐξ(?) διηρη[θ]ήσαν] εἰς τὰς δύο φυλά[ς]
 μη[.]..[.]ατ[.]..απίων Θαλαμηγοῦ, [.....]δῶρο[ν], Ἡρακλειδῆ[ς]],
 Ἡρακλειδῆς Ἀνελαίου, Πόσις Διδύμου· [οἱ] μὲν [ἐ]πεξευρ[ε]θέντες
 ...[.....]· ὑποβλη[θ]ήσετ[αι] ..το[.....]ων κρο[.....]νω[.....]όμενος
 τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀγορανόμος ἔτος [.....]υτ[ε]ε[.....].
 [.....]τωνο[.....]ε[.....] ὁ σύλλογος ἐφώνη[σεν]· τῷ ἡγεμ[ό]νι
 περὶ τούτου. Πακτουμήμιος Νεμε[σια]νός γενόμενος)
 ὑπομνηματ[ο]γράφος εἶπ(ε)· [(c. 45 ll.)]σοστομιτων τ[ο]ῦ παρὰ γεου-
 χ[ω]ν[ω]ν[ω]ν μ[.....]] (blank)
 60 [.....].

32 ἀλλ' ἦνικα 34 ἴσθημιον 35 Ὁν εἶ, here and twice in 55, see commentary. After this, χαλεπὸν σε possible 36 τριτ' εστιν 38 l. ἐκτιθέσθωσαν; βούλεισε; μελλοκ. 41 The letter between ο and αλ[] might be a badly made υ. The α of αλ[] is very large 44 εκ' τότε 45 seq. l. αἰρεθέντες 46 l. καταλεγέντες 47 (εἶπεν) represented by a long horizontal stroke, crossed by a short vertical one; so 52, below 49 (near beginning); λλ very large and crossed apparently by a broken horizontal stroke. There has perhaps been some alteration here; (end) ...σων; the first letter might be χ and the third a badly made υ, but there is no trace of the tail of ρ between them 51 The letter after επισο seems to be ι or κ ...[.....]ε[ισ]; the letter before ε could be ζ 52 ἰδιω 54 l. ἐλαττονεῖν(?) 57 τῶν κρο[νω]ν[ω]ν[ω]ν possible. At end, perhaps ο]ἴτε ἐχ[ω]; then, after lacuna, trace of ω or κ 58 τῶν δ[υ]νῆθ[ω]ν possible

... 1,080 dr.; Epeiph 2nd, 1... dr.; Epeiph 13th, 1,207 dr.; Mesorē ... 240 dr.; Mesorē 5th, 1... dr. And I have included in my total(?) the ... from what was ordered by the most eminent Prefect to be given from ... the four talents which were paid ... the remaining ... talents ... 39 tal. 5,300 dr.; remainder, 1 tal. 1,340 dr.' The assembly cried: 'Noble syndic! You have administered well; witness has been made to one who is true and upright and a patriot.' Menelaus, syndic: 'This account has been laid before you, and it shall also be publicly displayed, and entered in the records; furthermore, the account(?) of the 50 talents and of the 30 shall be referred to my lord the most eminent Prefect, and his highness shall approve it.' Another item: Menelaus, syndic: 'No one can be unaware of the kind of responsibility involved in the syndicate, and how I have continued to carry out all the orders of the Prefect and of the other (authorities); and indeed the very administration of the city besides. You remember when I distributed the album of magistrates between the two tribes and the matter was referred to my lord the most eminent Prefect, while the voting on their apportionment was going on, that (according to your request, moreover) the number for the two tribes was augmented by the arrival of others, twelve in number. I thought it necessary, and indeed I mentioned this then in the minutes, when the time was ripe, to enrol the fresh arrivals into the two tribes with a view to their having fair shares and not having to pay a second time, but once and for all(?). ... The

additional names are:—' As he continued, the assembly cried: 'Noble syndic! You have administered well! Hurrah for the patriot! Hurrah for the man of initiative! One who is worthy of the Prefect by a unique discharge of the syndicate! Just such men as this are needed!' Apollodorus, ex-magistrate: 'I am certifying in the minutes that in the number of the twelve my brother Euhemerus, by the order of the present syndic, has already performed liturgy; and we request a copy to be laid before us.' Serenus, former hypomnematographus: 'Well, since this man was previously enrolled into this tribe, we also request that Posis son of Euangelus be enrolled into the other.' The members of the second tribe cried: 'Yes! Attach(?) to us Posis son of Euangelus, the patriot! Attach(?) to us Posis son of Euangelus!' Serenus, former hypomnematographus: '... the syndic ... having spent the year ... has chosen to distribute the additional magistrates today. But since three have been enrolled into this tribe, it is necessary that the equal number of three be put into the other.' The assembly cried: 'Yes! Yes, noble syndic!' Serenus, former hypomnematographus: 'They are: Isidorus, Ischyrius, and Eudaemon son of Callimachus.' The members of the first tribe cried: 'Isidorus is someone else's man; our overseer is with the ...' Menelaus, syndic: 'We have framed the registration(?) with a view to securing equality of honour and fair shares for the two tribes; and according to the strictest justice those subsequently found ought in general to be assigned this office by lot, just as the composition of the whole album and of the two tribes was framed with the object of ensuring that membership of this or that tribe should not go by favour or malice; but since you have desired that those previously constrained to the liturgies should belong to the first tribe, then an equal number shall be given to the other tribe. Those who have performed liturgies are Ischyrius and Eudaemon; Ischyrius and Eudaemon son of Callimachus shall be enrolled in the first, which was then, and is today still performing liturgies; and instead of these we will give to the second, which begins its liturgical service from tomorrow, Posis son of Euangelus, even as you have desired, and Isidorus son of Amarantus.' The members of the first tribe cried: 'Yes, noble syndic! You have administered well!' The members of the second tribe cried: '... You have acted unfairly.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Well, I only wanted to give equality to the tribes; but since ... and the other ... shall be given to the first.' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'This ought not to have been done today; but when these men were nominated, and not when you had ended your liturgy, this should have taken place.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Posis son of Euangelus will be given to the one tribe, now performing liturgies, and Eudaemon will be given to the other ...' Nemesianus son of Apollon, formerly hypomnematographus: 'I have already certified that this ought not to have happened today, but when these men were nominated their allotment should have taken place.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Well, (I made provision for this?) in the minutes which were made when I distributed the album between the two tribes, proclaiming that "as many as are found subsequently, after the allotment of the others ... will be distributed between the two tribes to ensure equality of honour"; and accordingly, bearing in mind my words on that occasion, I distributed those subsequently found between the two tribes.' Nemesianus, hypomnematographus [*sic*]: 'I have already certified.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Of the other six(?) ...' Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'Let the offspring of the fathers, who have already got into the tribe, perform liturgies; that is, (the sons) of the progenitors and kinsfolk. Those who have already got in ought already to be taking part in meetings.' The assembly cried: 'Yes! Yes! Let them all take part in meetings from the 30th! Let them all take part in meetings from the 30th of the month Phaophi; or else let them be posted up.' Menelaus, syndic: 'What sort of people, then, do you want to take part in meetings?' The assembly cried: 'Those about to come of age, those who have already got (into the tribes).' Philoxenus, ex-magistrate: 'It is therefore necessary to suggest those who ...' Menelaus, syndic: '... to be suggested ...' Heron son of Euhemerus: 'According to what principle have they not all taken part in meetings? On whose orders have they not taken part in meetings up till today? This will not be in the competence of any one to concede ... But they ought already to be taking part in meetings, and if they have not done so they should be posted up.' Menelaus, syndic: 'In general, those from the album, having been submitted to my lord the Prefect, all took part in meetings, and those who did not were posted up.' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'This should not have taken place today.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Do not disturb the assembly.' Nemesianus: 'Do not set pitfalls for the assembly.' Heron son of Euhemerus: Let them all take part in meetings! Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: What is the reason why this has not happened between then and now? It is with the intention of shielding

these people that you have done this today, after your syndicate is over.' Menelaus, syndic: 'In general, those elected and enrolled in the tribes have taken part in meetings; all who have shirked their duty have been posted up. And if your credit is good, as many as you can produce on your own credit, enrol them.' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'If my credit is good, it is no thanks to you.' Menelaus, syndic: 'And it is no thanks to you if mine is. For the most estimable assembly knows how I have administered the syndicate.' Heron son of Euhemerus: 'I have certified that nothing has been paid in to the assembly in which I was posted up.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Do not confuse the assembly on a pretext of twenty ... Pay the fine!' Heron son of Euhemerus: 'You are the one who confuses everything.' Menelaus, syndic: 'The beginning of conspiracy and confusion (is) already (here). Have we already stopped ...? Pay the fine!' Heron son of Euhemerus: 'I owe nothing.' Menelaus, syndic: 'I am demanding from you; the Prefect is demanding from you; don't try to humbug me.' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'He has made certification in each case(?) at his own risk.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Very well. It will increase the fortune of the assembly to produce an increased number of magistrates; that is my credit and glory, to produce more, and not to lessen the ... for us, to distribute them between the two tribes. And if others suggest (names), they are (found unsatisfactory?), but as many as I suggested are (more satisfactory?) than the other six(?). For the six(?) have been distributed between the two tribes: ... apion son of Thalamegus, ... son of ... dorus, Heraclides son of ... , Heraclides son of Anelaus, Posis son of Didymus; those discovered subsequently ... will be suggested ... agoranomus of those who are there ...' The assembly cried: '... to the Prefect about this.' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: '... of those from the landowners ...'

1-5 A financial statement by the syndic is received with acclamations by the assembly.

3 τῶ ἀνω, κτλ.: see Part XII, note on 1413, 11 (p. 40). Here the applause is for one laying down office.

4 παρετέθη ἡμῖν: see *ibid.* (on l. 14).

5 ἄλλο: or ἄλλοι? Cf. BGU 361 ii 10: ἄλλου ὁμοίως ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν. From this point onwards the document is largely concerned with the distribution between the first tribe, now finishing its period of service, and the second, whose period begins tomorrow, of some additions to the album (λεῦκωμα) of ἀρχόντες. Claims and counter-claims to certain of these are made by the representatives of the respective tribes; the principle of the avoidance of too frequent reappointment to liturgies is an important consideration in the discussion. For the περίοδος in which the different φυλαί became responsible for filling these posts, and limitations restricting reappointment, see Skeat and Wegener in *JE A* xxi 245; Wegener, *Actes* pp. 513 seq.

6 At the end of the line, some word meaning 'authorities' is to be supplied.

7 δια[ν]ῶν: also in 1469, 4 (3rd cent.); PSI 804, 8 seq. (A.D. 301).

τ[δ] λεῦκωμα τῶν ἀρχόντων: τὸ βουλευτικὸν (τῶν βουλευτῶν) λ. (= album decurionum) is met with in the fourth-century P. Princeton AM 8937 (*JE A* xii 116 seqq.); this, if the suggestions in the introduction about the identity of the ἀρχόντες here are right, will be a different list.

8 ἡγεμῶν: for the part played by the Prefect in the assignment of liturgies, see Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, pp. 15 seqq.

9 ἐπαυξηθέντας (sc. -τες): with this rather inexact use of the word, cf. 17, below; used of increasing numbers of a σύνδοτος, *SB* 7453, 33 (an inscription of Ptolemaic date).

10 The subject of ἐκτεῖσαι can hardly be the same as that of ἔχειν, which must be the φυλή; it is the ἀρχόντες who are in danger of paying twice over. We must assume that the construction is a little loose here.

11 ἀπὸ μιᾶς ...]σματος: with ἀπὸ μιᾶς, perhaps cf. PSI 286, 22 (3rd/4th cent.): μελ(λ)ω γὰρ ἀπὸ μιᾶς αὐτὸν πληρῶσαι; 'once and for all' would make good sense. But the rest of the phrase is hard to supply; Skeat suggests ἐως μιᾶς: '(from the first (day)) till the first (day)?'

ἐξ[ῆς] λέγοντος: cf. P. Col. inv. 181+182, 4 (*TAPA* lxviii 371 seqq.); and so apparently in 1503, 10 (in an uncertain context). We must suppose that a list of the twelve additional names followed here in the syndic's speech.

12 ἱεροποιεῖ: cited by LSJ only from Damascius, with a different meaning.

μιᾶ ἀπ' αἰῶνος: see D. G. Roos, *Mnemosyne*, Series 3, 6, 172 seqq.; Björck, *Eranos* xlvi (1948), pp. 72 seqq.; Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, pp. 216 seq.

τοιούτους, κτλ.: does this mean 'this is the kind of *syndic*' or 'the kind of *ἀρχοντες* we want'? The former is perhaps more likely.

12 seqq. Apollodorus, hearing the name of his brother in the list of twelve names, points out that he has already served. (This might imply that the brother was not present at the meeting.)

14 τὰ πρῶτην: the first tribe.

15 οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας (sc. φυλῆς): see Wegener, *Actes* 518 seqq.; *Symb.* 166, 171 seq.

15 seq. [κῶ]/λλατον: so, perhaps, rather than Skeat's alternative suggestion [δ]/λλατ(τ)ον, which also involves emendation in 16 and assumes an even more awkward word-division.

16 ἐπισχέσεις 'delays', or ἐπιστροφάς 'changes'? Serenus is the first to make an objection later taken up and reiterated by another speaker, 29 seqq.

17 seq. The relation between the twelve additional names and the six—three for each of the two tribes—mentioned here and below is puzzling. τὰ πρῶτην is again the first tribe, τὴν ἄλλην the second.

18 κατατεθῆναι, which is certain, is perhaps a mistake for καταλεγῆναι.

19 seq. The members of the first tribe protest that Isidorus does not belong to the second; the restoration and meaning of their next remark are uncertain.

20 ὑπόγραμμα: elsewhere only in BGU 52 ii 5 (2nd cent.).

21 κατὰ τὸ δίκαιότατον: cf. P. Rend. Harr. 69, 21.

22 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μή, κτλ.: cf. 1409, 15; similar sense 1188, 5; P. Amh. 68, 10; 1642, 29.

29 seq. ἀλλ' ἤπι(η)ρίκα οὐ(τοι) ὡ(σ)μάθησαν: see Wegener, *Mnem.* 19–28.

35 What might be taken as ἐξ here and twice in 55 has a sign above the ξ and to the right of it which looks like the form of υ which is often used at the end of words. In the two latter cases the sign is crossed by what might be an abbreviation stroke. It is therefore possible that this is in each case an abbreviation of ἐξ(ε)υ(ρεθέντων), (-τες); which would make good sense. Against this it must be noted that the writer rarely abbreviates even when he might be expected to do so.

36 τὰ φθάσαντα, κτλ.: by being born into it? Nemesianus seems to be asserting that membership ought to go by heredity.

37 For the 30th of the month as the date for meetings of the Senate, see Wegener, *Symb.* 183.

38 seq. μαλλοκουρη: read μελλοκουρη(?) ; so Skeat, who compares Olsson's discussion in *Aegyptus* vii, pp. 111 seq., of μελλοκουρία in 1484, 4. (The ending of the word here will have depended on what its etymology was thought to be.)

39 Restore ἐύρον[τα]ς? If so, the connexion with the last remark is obscure.

41 ἐκτεθῆναι: the verb, used elsewhere of the posting up of notices and names of persons (see LSJ, s.v.), is here used of the persons themselves.

43 σκαῖνδαλίης: if the restoration is right, this is the first occurrence of the word in the documentary papyri.

45 σκεπ(τ)ῆζειν: cf. P. Ryl. 569, 6; 8 seq.; P. Hib. 35, 10; PSI 440, 14; Preisigke, *Fachw.*, s.v.

45 seq. ἀπ[α]ξ[α]π[λ]ῶς, κτλ.: the syndic, ignoring the last speaker, assures the assembly that attendance at meetings has been generally insisted upon, and that defaulters have been posted up.

46 seq. εἰν πιστευθῆς . . . τῆ σεαντοῦ πίστει: a sneer by the syndic at his opponent's credit, and perhaps at his financial position; with the hint that he will be financially responsible for his nominations.

48 seq. It seems that Heron is complaining that a fine paid by him after he had been posted up (for failure to attend meetings?) has not found its way into the accounts. The syndic denies that it has been paid at all. In 52 Nemesianus is evidently supporting Heron, but uncertainty about the meaning of ἐκάστου makes the point of his remark obscure.

54 One might of course divide πλέον . . . καὶ μὴ ἔλαττον, but ἠγ[] which follows would be difficult.

55 ἐξ(?) : the list which follows possibly contained six names. Θαλαμηγός is surprising as a proper name, but seems certain; so is Ἀνέλαιος.

57 The mention of an ἀγορανόμος may perhaps be evidence that the document is to be dated after c. 288/9, when this office is said (1252, vs. 15 seqq.; cf. 1642, Part XIV, p. 65) to have been revived after long disuse.

2408. LETTER FROM THE *Praefectus Annonae Alexandriae*

40·5 × 20 cm.

A.D. 397.

This document, which must have been about 70 cm. wide when complete, is a copy of a letter acknowledging the receipt of 2,000 artabae of corn, from a Prefect of the Annona of Alexandria to the Exactor (of the Oxyrhynchite nome). A similar and evidently contemporary document is P. Rylands 652, from the Hermopolite nome. The body of our document is in a bold upright hand; the papyrus is very thick, but presents a good writing surface. Written along the fibres; verso blank.

[δ διασημότατος ἐ]παρχος ἀνώνης Ἀλ[ε]ξανδρείας
 (blank) ἐξάκτορι
 [Ὁξυρυγίτου] χ[αί]ρ(ειν).
 [κατὰ τὴν ἀποσταλείσαν παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς τὴν τάξιν ἀναφορὰν γίνωσκε εἰσκεκο]μίσθαι
 τοῖς κατ[ὰ] Ἀλεξανδρεῖ[α]ν θείους θησαυροῖς ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ σέ νομοῦ διὰ Μακρο-
 βίου καὶ Φιλαίου καὶ
 [c. 44 ll. ὑπὲρ ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδι]κτίονος σίτου ἄρ]τάβ[ας] δισ[χι]λίας
 5 [πρὸ καλ[ανδῶν] (ἔτους) . . τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου τῶν
 αἰωνίων αὐγ]ούστων ἱπατία Φλα[ουίων] Καισαρίου καὶ Ἀπτικ[οῦ] τῶν
 λαμπροτάτων καὶ ἀναφέρεσθαι τοῖς
 [c. 61 ll.]λα ἀπὸ στρατιάς ὑποδέκ[τα]ις καὶ ἐξ ἀναφορᾶς ἰδίου κινδύνου
 Ἀρποκρᾶ καὶ Ταυρίνου καὶ Ἀγάθ[ω]νος
 [c. 58 ll. καὶ] Φλ[αουίου] [Ν]εμεσίνου οἰκονόμων καὶ Ἀμμωνίου βοηθοῦ
 διακεντήσεως, ἢ ἐπ' ἀντίτυπον ὑποτέτ[ακ]τ[α]ι.
 [c. 57 ll. ὑπογ]ραφήναι σοι προσέταξα.
 [. . . τῶ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ ἀνώνης Ἀλεξανδρείας . . .]ιρεθησ[.]α
 εἰσκεκομ[ίσθαι] τοῖς ὄρριοις κατὰ τὴν ἀναφορὰν τῶν προκίμενων οἰκονόμων
 καὶ τοῦ προκίμενον
 10 [βοηθοῦ c. 51 ll.]θεις ἐν κοττιδιανοῖς λόγοις ἐπὶ ὑπογραφῆς τῶν προειρη-
 μένων ἀπὸ νομοῦ Ὁξυρυγί[τ]ου διὰ Ἀμμωνίου ὑπὲρ [ἐν]δεκάτης
 ἰνδικτίονος c. 25 ll.]η γιν[ό]μεναι ἐπὶ σοῦ, ἢ δηλοῦμεν κύρ[ωσι]ν.
 [οἰκονόμος συμφωνί τὸ προκίμενον μέτρον τοῦ] σίτου [ἐ]ν ἀρτάβαις δισχιλίας.
 Φλ[άουιος] Νεμεσίνος οἰκονόμος συμφωνί τὸ προκίμενον μέτρον τοῦ σίτου
 ἐν ἀρτάβαις δισχιλ[ί]αις.
 [Ἀμμωνίος βοηθὸς c. 20 ll. ἀπο]χῆ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου σίτου ἀρταβῶν

δισχιλίων. Ἄριος βοηθός συμφωνί δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀγάθωνος σκρινιαρίου ἐν ἀρτάβασι
δισχιλίαι[s].

2nd h.

[c. 35 ll. τὴν ἐνεκτίσαν ἀπὸ σοῦ αὐθεντικὴν ἀποχὴν.

3rd h.

15 [c. 42 ll.]ν ἀποχ() τὴν ἐνεκτίσαν ἀπὸ σοῦ αὐθεντικὴν ἀποχὴν τοῦδε τοῦ
ἰσοτύπου δὲ πρόκειται.

6 l. ἰδίω κινδύνω 8 i of σοι has curls at top and bottom which make it resemble a narrow σ
14, 15 l. ἐνεχθείσαν

1 εἰ]παρχος, κτλ.: the *praefectus annonae* of P. Ryl. 652 (dated by the editors late 4th/5th cent.)
is Flavius Soterichus. For the title, see their note on l. 1.

1 seq. ἐξάκτορι, κτλ.: the space for the official's name is left blank, and the title evidently added
later, probably by the same hand, but in smaller and more sloping writing. On the *exactor*, see Part
XII, pp. 82 seqq. (on 1428), and the authorities cited there; also Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 299 seqq.;
Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, p. 219. τοῦ ὑπὸ σέ νομοῦ in the next line
illustrates the competence of the official; showing also that there is only one for the Oxyrhynchite
nome at this date, as in 1428 (4th cent.). It is interesting to find his sphere of interest including
exactions in kind, and not confined to arrears.

3 [... ἀναφορὰν ...]: cf. ἐξ ἀναφορᾶς in l. 6, below. The editors of P. Ryl. 652 in their note on
l. 4 suggest 'payment'. The round figure 2000 looks very much like an instalment payment.
θελοῖς θησαυροῖς: the same epithet as is employed to qualify the financial *θησαυροί* in P. Lips. 62,
ii 14 (A.D. 385); see Wilcken, *Grdz.* p. 165.

διὰ Μ. καὶ Φ.: cf. διὰ Βησαρίωνος, P. Ryl. 652, 5; this suggests that the previous line there can
be entirely restored as here, and is thus 117 letters long. The second καὶ which follows may not have
introduced a third name; if not, perhaps the last two lines, endorsements in a second and third hand,
are from these individuals. The rest of the document is in a single hand, since it is a copy. It is not
clear to whom the statements contained in ll. 5-11 are to be attributed. That in l. 10 at any rate must
have been made by one of the Alexandrian authorities.

5 In spite of the fact that a long space is left blank at the end of l. 4, εἰσεκο]μισθαι . . . καὶ
ἀναφέρεσθαι are doubtless both governed by γίνωσκε. The space may have been left because the
actual amount in the *pro forma* was left blank. If so, what the latter certifies to the *exactor* is: (a) that
the consignment has arrived at the barns of Alexandria; (b) that it is *being* (pres. inf.) reported (or
paid over) to the imperial officers.

6]α: presumably end of the name of one of the ὑποδέκται, in dative (after ἀναφέρεσθαι). The
form of their designation invites comparison with ἀ]πὸ ὑπομηματογράφων ὑποδέκτης νομ(οῦ), κτλ. in
P. Ryl. 652.

ἰδίου κινδύνου: we should presumably correct to ἰδίω κινδύνω. The σκρινιάριος in 13, below,
named Agathon; if he is identical with the man here, we should perhaps compare what is said in
Justinian, *Edict* xiii 27 about delivery at the risk of local officials, including *scriniarii*.

7 Perhaps supply μετὰ τῆς (name) καὶ Φλ. Ν. κτλ.
διακεντήσεως: or διὰ κεντήσεως? Whichever word is understood, it must have had some special
documentary sense. The *οικονόμοι* and *βοηθός* in question are presumably officials at the Alexandrian
granaries.

ἐπ' ἀντίτυπον: ἐπί perhaps in the prospective sense 'with a view to receiving' (a copy). P. Ryl. 652
has instead ἦς τὸ ἀντίτυπον ὑποτέτακται. (Skeat suggests that the reading here is a mistake for ἦς τ'
ἀντ.) We should perhaps place a full stop after that in Ryl. 652 and assume that ἡ ἐμὴ καθοσίωσις
begins a new sentence.

9 On the analogy of P. Ryl. 652 the line will begin with the name of the *praefectus annonae* in the

dative; his titles may well be abbreviated here and so one cannot say how much might be supplied.
Before εἰσεκομ[ίσθαι]; it is hard to read the abbreviated epithets read by the editors of P. Ryl. 652 in
their text (l. 10). Perhaps here some word meaning 'we certify'.

ὄρροις: this confirms the editors' conjectured expansion of ορ() in P. Ryl. 652, 10. The ὄρροις
are no doubt synonymous with *θησαυροί* (at Alexandria, as above); cf. Wilcken, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

10 κοττιδιανοῖς λόγγοις: κοτ(τ)ιδιανός occurs elsewhere in Greek only in Lydus, *De Magistratibus*
107, 18; 160, 1.

ἐπὶ ὑπογραφῆς, κτλ.: 'bearing the subscription of . . .', cf. P. Lips. 63, 12 (4th cent.).

11 ἡ δηλούμεν κύρ[ωσι]ν: similar language occurs in P. Lond. 164, 3 seq.: . . . τῶν μὲν δηλωθέντων
κεκυρωσθαι καὶ μετὰ κύρωσιν κτλ.; unfortunately an obscure passage.

13 Perhaps supply συμφωνεῖ as main verb; though elsewhere in this document it takes an accu-
sative.

14 [. . . ἔσχον? . . .]: cf. (e.g.) P. Warren 3, 23 seq.

2409. MEMORANDA OF AN OFFICIAL

33 × 36.5 cm.

Late second century.

On the verso of an unpublished register of loans, to judge from its proper names
and place-names originating somewhere in Upper Egypt, perhaps at Thebes; written
across the fibres in a sloping hand. Short private memoranda on a variety of official
matters, with many abbreviations, referring to a register of business for the month
of Tybi; at least one previous column has been lost.

καὶ τῶν εἰ[πι] Θ[η]βαίδος χωρὶς Ὀάσεως.

περὶ ἀρθεῖ[as] εἰ]δαφῶν ἀ(ντίγραφ.?) κολ(λήμ.) δε.

ἀντέγραψα τῶ με[. . .] Τῦ(βι?) κολ(λήμ.) ἰβγ.

ἡ[δ]η?} δεδιοίκ(ηκα) Τῦ(βι) κολ(λήμ.) ἰδ.

5 π(ερί) τοῦ ἀποδοθῆναι τὰς ἱερατικὰς συντάξεις ἀ(ντίγραφ.?) κολ(λήμ.) ι.

τῆς γρ(αφῆς) τὸ ἀ(ντίγραφ.) εἰ]έσταλ(κα) τῶ βασιλ(ικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ) ἰν' εἰδῆ καὶ τὰ ἴδια μέρ[η]

ἀναπληρώσῃ, καὶ ὅσοι δὲ ἠτήσαντο ἐπεστάλησ(αν).

(π(ερί) τοῦ τὸν σείτο[ν] καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολ(ον) πέμπειν ἀ(ντίγραφ.?) κολ(λήμ.) λθβ.)

τὸ κελ[ε]υσθὲν παρατηρῶ.

10 π(ερί) θυσίων τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Νίλου ἀ(ντίγραφ.?) . . .[. . .]δ.

ἀντέγραψα Τῦ(βι) κολ(λήμ.) (blank).

2 ā: see commentary 3 τῶ probably = Τῦ(βι); what looks like ο between τ and υ is perhaps
only a blot 5 π' = π(ερί)

. . . and of those in the Thebaid, exclusive of the Oasis.

'About the watering of the soil: copy(?) on sheets 4-5. I replied to the . . ., Tybi, sheets 12-13.

I have already(?) administered (the matter): Tybi, sheet 16.

'About the payment of the priestly levies: copy(?) on sheet 10(?). The copy of the document I
have dispatched to the royal scribe, that he may be informed and perform his own part; and as
many as have made requests have been despatched.

'About the sending of pure and unadulterated grain: copy(?) on sheets 39-40. I am observing
the orders.

'About the sacrifices of the most sacred Nile: copy(?) . . . 4. I replied, Tybi, sheet (blank).'

2 περὶ ἀρθεῖ[as] εἰ]δαφῶν: cf. 1409, 19; P. Thead. 20, 4.

ā is perhaps ἀ(ντίγραφον) rather than ἀ(ντέγραφα) here and in 5, 8, 10 below, because (1) ἀντέγραφα is written in full in 3, 11; (2) the same abbreviation stands for a neuter substantive in 6.

δε: cf. *ιβγ*, *λθμ*, below: the reference is plainly to consecutive sheets.

4 δεδιώικ(ηκα): for different ways of forming the perfect of διωικέιν, see LSJ, s.v.

5 ἱερατικὰς συντάξεις: cf. *Archiv* v 387 (P. Hawara No. 188 b 2, 2nd cent.); Part VII, p. 199.

6 seq. ἴν' εἶδη, κτλ.: cf. *Archiv* iv 122, col. iv 5 seq.: τὸ ἀντίγραφόν σοι [ἐπι]στ[έλλ]εται, φιλτατε, ἴν' εἶδῃς καὶ τὰ ἴδια μέρη ἀναπληρώσης; so *ibid.* v 7 seqq. (= *W. Chr.* i 52).

8 seq. This entry is enclosed in round brackets, perhaps to indicate that the matter is not finished with.

10 τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Νίλου: cf. BGU 176, 11 seq.: ὑπὲρ ἀναβάσεως τοῦ ἱερωτάτου [Νείλου]; BGU 12, 3 seq.: [τῆς τοῦ] ἱερωτάτου Νείλου ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ ἀναβάσεως.

2410. PETITION

34.5 × 26.5 cm.

A.D. 120.

Remains of three columns, written along the fibres of a sheet of papyrus of good quality. The verso is blank. Of col. i, in a small hand, nothing remains but the ends of the last nine lines:]θα /]τ. . . τ. π. . . /]... κα ὡς /]... και /] ὅπως ἐὰν /]... πρὸς / (blank) /] Ἀδριανοῦ [/] θ[; the last two lines no doubt contained a date. The next two columns, which are broken off at the top, contain two copies of an identical text, with unimportant variants; the body of this is in a large backward-sloping hand which tends to separate words by spaces. Most of the text can be reconstructed after the lost beginning; the text of the first copy (A) is given here, with supplements from the second (B). Two petitioners complain of the aggressive behaviour of a neighbour, who has been acquiring land for the purpose of sub-letting it.

A

[.....] καὶ ..[...].
 [ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχ(ων) πόλε]ως. Ὁρειῶν τις
 [.....]ς καταφρονῶν
 [ἡμῶν τῆς ἀπραγμο]σύνης, τὸ πρῶτον
 5 [ὑδρεύματι τῆς] κώμης ἀπὸ προγόνων
 [... εἶ... ὁμ].... εἰκώλυσεν χρᾶσθαι·
 [οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ] καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν εὐπορηθ[ε]ντας
 [ὑδρεύσεως] μετέρχεται, βουλόμενος κ[α]ἰ
 [τοῦτου ἡμᾶ]ς ἐκδιώκειν· καὶ ἀπὸ
 10 [βασιλικῆς] ἡμῶν γῆς πειράζει (ἀρούρας) β
 ἀ[ποσπάσα]με, καὶ ἰδιωτικ[ῆ]ν ποιῆσαι·
 ν[ομάς] τ[ῶν] ἐκ τῆ[ς] Νικα[γοριανῆς] οὐσίας,
 πρ[ότερον] δι' ἡμῶ[ν] οὐ[σ]ας, ὑπερβαλὼν

2410. PETITION

159

ξένοις [μισθο]ῖ, τὰ ἡμῶν [κ]τήνη βούλο-
 15 μενος διαφθαρῆναι· οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς
 αὐτῆς οὐσίας [μισθοῦτα]με, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρας
 γᾶς 'βασιλικὰς' ἐκμισθοῦται πλείονος αὐτὰ μισθῶν·
 ὁ δὲ τοῦτου [υ]ἱὸς ὢν πρεσβύτερος μεχρὶ
 τοῦτου οὐδ[ε]μίαν δαπάνην π[ε]ποιήται
 20 [οὐ]δὲ μ[ῆ]ν εἰς λ[ό]γον ὑδροφυλακίας καὶ κα-
 λάμης [μετ]ὰ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ ἀποδί-
 δωσι· ὅθεν τοῦτον ὑπερισχύοντος
 ἡμᾶς ἐν [τῇ κώμῃ] ἀξιούμεν βοηθη-
 θῆναι ἴν' ἰσχύσωμεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ
 25 [σ]υμ[μ]ένειν. διευτύχει.
 (ἔτους) [δ] Αὐτ[οκράτο]ρ[ος] Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ
 [Ἀδριανοῦ Σ]εβαστοῦ Φαμεν[ῶθ] κβ.
 2nd h. [A..... ὁ] πρ[ο]γεγραμμένος ἐπιδέδωκ(α) κ[α]θὼς πρό[κ]ε(ιται).
 3rd h. [Ψενχῶνσις Ψε]ντουώτι[ος] ἐ[πι]δέ[δωκα] καθὼς πρόκειται.

6 Before εἰκώλυσεν, α or possibly ω 16 αὐτῆς: Νικα[γοριανῆς] B 20 ὑδροφυλ() in B
 24 ἰδια 28 προγεγραμμένος fully written in B

(To . . . from . . ., of Oxyrhynchus(?).) A certain Horion . . ., in contempt of our easy temper has first of all hindered (us) from making use of the village irrigator, which (was at our disposal?) from (the time of) our ancestors; and not only this, but when we have availed ourselves (of water) from other sources, he persecutes us with the intention of ousting us from this also. And he is trying to seize two arouras of our crown land and make it private property; (and) having made a higher bid for some pastures from the Nicanorian estate which were formerly administered by us, he lets them to strangers, intending that our beasts shall be destroyed; he does not only lease from the same (Nicanorian) estate, but he also leases out other crown lands, letting them (the beasts?) for hire for a higher price. And this man's son, who is quite advanced in years, has never up to now made any expenditure, nor indeed does he pay into the account for irrigation guard and for straw together with his family. Wherefore, since this man is oppressing us in the village, we request assistance so that we may have the means to remain in our own place. Farewell.' (Date and subscriptions.)

3 Perhaps [ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλε]ως.

3 seq. καταφρονῶν, κτλ.: cf. 1470, 15; SB. 5343, 42; P. Gen. 6, 13; 31, 10; P. Antin. 36, 12 seq.; P. Ryl. 659, 7 seq.

7 εὐπορηθ[ε]ντας: for the passive, cf. PSI 299, 18 seqq. (3rd cent.): καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πειρώμαι, ἐπὶ πλοίων εὐπορηθῶ, καταλαβεῖν ἡμᾶς.

8 ὑδρε[ύ]σε[ως]: cited in LSJ from Theophrastus, *De Causis Plantarum* 35, 5.

9 seqq. The use of the expression βασιλικῆς ἡμῶν at such an early date is surprising; on the face of it it seems that the petitioners regard themselves as the owners of the βασιλική in question, which Horion is trying to transfer to the category of private land not only in fact but in name (ἰδιωτικὴν ποιῆσαι). As Sir Harold Bell points out, however, ἡμῶν may not necessarily imply actual possession; it might mean no more than 'the royal land which we lease'. But even so, it seems that we have here an early symptom of the process of assimilation by which the royal land later became merged in the private: see Bell, 'An Epoch in the Agrarian History of Egypt', *Rec. Champollion* (1922), pp. 261-71.¹

¹ Note that ἰδιωτικὰς (to agree with νομάς) cannot be read; the η of ἰδιωτικῆ[ν] is clear in B.

12 The *Νικανοριανή ουσία*, which appears here for the first time, had perhaps belonged to Nicanor, one of the sons of the philosopher Areus, who, according to Suetonius (*Div. Aug.* 89) was like his father a personal friend of Augustus. He would come into the class of rich Alexandrians enumerated by Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft u. Wirtschaft im röm. Kaiserreich*, pp. 295 seq., among possessors of *ουσία* in Egypt. (The business man discussed by Fuks, *JJP* v, 207 seqq., seems an unlikely alternative.)

13 *δι' ἡμῶν (οὐσίας)*: perhaps an extension of the sense 'through the agency of'.

ὑπερβαλόν: in the sense of 'overbid', cf. 513, 25 (2nd cent.); 1633, 5 (3rd cent.).

15 *διαφθαρῆναι*: used P. Philad. 8, 8 (2nd cent.), P. Princeton 28, 6 (3rd cent.) of the loss of sheep from unspecified causes; here perhaps by working them to death; having hired the complainants' beasts he makes a profit by hiring them out on other lands beside those on which they were originally used? Or possibly (reading *αὐτάς (= γὰς)* for *αὐτά* in 17) he threatens to destroy them by depriving them of water.

18 *ἂν πρεσβύτερος*: he has attained his present mature age without ever having paid these dues. 20 seq. *καλάμης*: since it is here coupled with *ὑδροφυλακία*, the word presumably relates to irrigation work. Gaps in embankments were plugged with bundles of fibrous stuff (see Hohlwein, *Ét. de Pap.* iv (1938), p. 69); reeds (*κάλαμοι*) were regularly so used, but straw or chaff (*καλάμη*) mixed with clay was also used; see *Simulthii Opera* (ed. Leipoldt), vol. iv (*Corp. Script. Christ. Or.*, Ser. 2a, tom. 5), p. 152, and Wiesmann's translation (ibid. tom. 12), p. 91.

21 *μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων*: cf. BGU 665, ii 1.

22 seq. *ὑπερισχύοντος ἡμᾶς*: cf. P. Ryl. 119, 30.

23 seqq. For the closing formula, cf. P. Flor. 91, 17 seq.; P. Lond. 924, 18 seq. (2nd cent.); SB. 4284, 14 seqq.; P. Gen. 16, 18 (3rd cent.).

2411. PETITION

39 × 32 cm.

Probably c. A.D. 173.

Remains of three columns written along the fibres in an upright hand. There is a tendency to separate words by spaces. Of col. i the ends, and of col. iii the beginnings only remain. The document is apparently a petition analogous with 237 (the Petition of Dionysia) in its free citation of a previous case. This citation is appended to the petition proper, which ends at 38, and seems to continue to the end of the document, at 80; it comprises an extensive exchange of correspondence between officials. On the verso is 2414.

i

1 [] υναλλαενο[2 [] ι τὰ ὑπογε- 3 [] γραμμένα τῶν ὑπογεγραμ-
 μένων 4 [] ων (ἀρουρ.) γ 5 [] ων κατοικ() 6 [] .ων (ἀρουρ.) δ
 (ἤμισ.) 7 [] . και φυλ() (ἀρουρ.) κ (ἤμισ.) 8 [] μ() ἐπ' ὄνομ(ατος)
 τοῦ πα- 9 [] τρὸς αὐτοῦ]ων· περὶ δὲ Πιναῦα 10 [] (ἀρουρ.) β και κατοικ()
 11 [] ἐπ' ὄνομ(ατος) τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ 12 []]ων (ἀρουρ.) ε (ἤμισ.)· και οὕτως
 13 [] βιβλιοφυλ(ακ) πεποι- 14 [] π]ροσδοθέντος εἰσε- 15 []] περι
 κώμ(ην) Κερκε- 16 []]ς τὰ ὑ[πάρ]ρχοντ(α) 17 []]μετα 18 []
 .πο[...]με- 19 [] τῆς βιβλιοθήκης 20 [] τῶν ἐκκτήσεων στρ]ατη[γ]ων

21 [(δρ.) ἀφ· ἐγὼ αὐ- 22 [τ τ]ροσούτου ἄξια 23 []] ταλάντοις
 24 [] τοῦτο 25 [] . ουχου 26 []] μολογίας 27 []]ν 28 []]α

ii

καὶ τοὺς μεχ[ρὶ τ]οῦ [ι]β (ἔτους) τόκους διατ[
 30 τῶ ἐξῆς ιγ (ἔτει) με[τα]δεδό[σ]θαι εἰ[ς]] πράσιν εἰς τ[ὸ] ἐνεστ(ός) (ἔτος) (δρ.) β' λρο,
 γίνοντ(αι) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (τάλ.) δ (δρ.) β' λρο· [και ἐ]άν σοι δόξη γράψαι τῶ
 τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῶ [τ]αῦτα προκηρῦξαι, καὶ <ἐάν> μὲν μὴ πλείο-
 να εὐρίσκη, παραδοῦναί μοι ἦς ὑπεσχόμην τειμ(ῆς), παραδεχο-
 μένου μοι [το]ῦ ὀφειλομένου ἐπ' ἀ[σφαλεία] κε[φαλαίου] καὶ τῶν
 35 τόκων· ἐάν [δὲ] πλέον εὐρίσκη [τ]ῶν [τα]λάμων δύο, ἐμοὶ ἀ-
 ποδοθῆναι, προ[θύμ]ως θε[λ]ήσονται ἐξ]ωνήσασθαι αὐτά, τὸ
 ὀφειλομένον μοι κερ[ά]λαι]ον και τοὺς τόκους, ἐν' ᾧ εὐεργετη-
 μένη. διευτύχι.
 ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκελε[ύσθη] παραδοθῆναι το[ῖς] δανεισταῖς
 40 πρὸς ὑπεροχὴν μόνην, ἀπὸ πλείονων ὑποδειγμάτων ὑ-
 πέταξά σοι ἀντίγραφ[ον] ἐπιστ[ολῆ]ς Μαλλίου Κράσσου γενομέ-
 νου διο[ικητο]ῦ·
 Μάλλιος Κρά[σσο]ς 'Ηρώδη στρ(ατηγῶ) Μενδησίου [χ]αίρειν.
 βιβλίδιον Διαμαρίωνο[ς] 'Ισι[δ]ώρου σημμωσάμενος ἔπεμψά σοι·
 45 εἰ οὖν τὸ δ[η]λούμενον [δ]άγειον ἐγένετο πρὶν Ἀπολλωνίου
 τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑποχ[ρέω]ν σ[τ]ρατηγῆσα[ι], και τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον ἐκ-
 τοτε ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόμ[ατος] αὐ[το]ῦ ἐν τῶ βιβλιοφυλ(ακίω) τῶν ἐκκτήσε-
 ων παρ[εδ]όθη, [τὸ δάνειον] ἀπερίλυτον ἔφτιν· ἐάν, ὡς οἱ
 χρημα[τ]ισταί(?) φασιν(?), χρηματισμοὶ(?) ἐπενεχθῶσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλε-
 50 ξανδρ[εία] βιβλιοφυλ(ακίου), ἐκ[αν]δ[ν](?) ἐστιν τὰ ὑποθηκιμ[α]ία προ-
 κηρυχθ[έν]τα [ἀποδοθῆναι(?), τ]ῆς ὑπεροχῆς, ἐάν τις ἦ[ν], ἐκ-
 φερομέν[η]ς τ[ὰ] τοῦ δηλουμένου Ἀπολλωνίου ὀφλήματα.
 (ἔτους) κβ Ἄντω[νίνου] Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Τῦβι α. σεσημ(είωμαι) ... 'μ'()
 ['Ηρώδης στρατ]ηγ(ός) ἀντέγγ(αψεν)·
 55 Τααρτίσιος τ[.....]..σῆς σοι, κύριέ μου, βιβλίδιον
 βουλομεν[.....].....τ. σειποτε χρεωσ[
 τουτουτ[.....]..σεως ταλάντων [

36 θε[λ]ήσονται: i. θελησούση 40 μόνην: we must assume a space left for some reason between ο and ν (as between ε and λ in ὀφειλομένου in 34, above)

iii
(3 lines lost)

[.]έγραψά [σο]ι [.]]
 αυτα δημοσι[]]
 [....]....λι. []]
ρο[]]
 65 σ. .νεσ[]]
 σου και του μ[]]
 στωσι... βουλ[ο]μενοι. []]
 ουδεν δε ήττον και τη[.]]]
 και ουδενος έτερου με. []]
 70 πελλη[φ]ας την γ[ρα]φήν []]
 τε δε σημ[.]σα και με[]]
 ως και της δηλωθ[είσης]]]
 (έτους) κυ Αντωνίνου Καίσαρος τ[ο]υ κυρίου]]
 και υπετάγη τα προκειμ[ενα] γρα[μματα] Κόσμου τῷ επιτρόπῳ?]]
 75 και αν[τέ]γραψ[εν]]]
 Κόσμος Ίσιδώ[ρ]ω []] χαίρειν.
 αγραφει υπο[.]χη[.]θ[.]]]
 έτι και νυν προκη[ρυ]]]
 ...λαβησαμ... []]
 80 (έτους) κυ Αντωνίνου Κ[α]ίσαρος του κυρίου]]

1 seqq. Since there is not room for a preamble in l. 1 we may take it that this was not the first column of the document. In it some land property is specified in detail; probably that of one of the debtors, which is to be auctioned. If so, αὐτοῦ in [9], 11 will refer to that party.

9 Πινάα: the place is unknown.

15 Κερκε[-: many place-names in the Oxyrhynchite nome and elsewhere begin thus.

29 seqq. The petitioner, a woman (38) requests an official to write to the strategus of the nome to have some property, belonging no doubt to a debtor, put up for auction. She herself will bid two talents for it. She asks that, if her bid is accepted by the strategus, the land may be knocked down to her, and the price reduced by the amount of principal and interest outstanding; if she is overbid by another, that principal and interest be returned to her.

29 [.]β: the damaged letter looks more like μ, but cf. τῷ ἐξῆς υγ (έτει) in the next line. The correspondence cited below is dated A.D. 159/60; 'years 12/13' here probably belong to the next reign.

30 εἰς τ[ὸ] ἐμφορ(ός) (έτος): doubtful.

31 The figure after (τάλ.) is doubtful; certainly not β (δύο, l. 35, below); what relation the sums mentioned bear to one another is obscure.

Ll. 31-38: '... and if you agree, to write to the strategus of the nome to put this property up for auction, and if he does not find a higher bid, to hand it over to me at the price I offered (or, undertook to pay), there being deducted in my favour the amount owed to me by way of security for the principal and the interest; but if he finds a higher bid than the two talents, that there should

be given back to me (who am, however, eager to purchase) the amount owed to me by way of principal and interest; in order that I may be obliged to you. Farewell.'

32 προκηρῦσαι: Dr. F. Pringsheim points out that this is informative, as showing a ὑπόθηκη realized by the auction of the hypothecated land.

32 seq. πλείονα εὐρίσκη: this, as Pringsheim remarks, is another way of expressing the ὑπεροχή mentioned below (40; cf. 51). With the expression he compares UPZ i 514.

33 ὑπεσχόμεν: 'made a bid for', see Pringsheim, *Scritti in onore di Cont. Ferrini*, 1949, p. 296, n. 5.

33 seq. παραδεχομένου: agreeing with τοῦ ὀφ. ἐπ' ἄ. κεφαλαίου; passive (as in examples cited by *Wb.* i, s.v. παραδέχομαι (3)).

34 ἐπ' ἀσφαλεία, κτλ.: cf. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 48, 49 seq.; P. Aberd. 19, 23.

36 θε[λ]ήσου[ν]τι: masc. for fem., a common error; see Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristl. Zeit (Münchener Beiträge zum Papyrusforsch. u. ant. Rechtsgesch.* 28 (1938)), pp. 40 seq., 130.

In 39-42 follows an official's comment, introducing a precedent for the present case: 'That it has been prescribed that this be handed over to the creditors for the amount of excess (of their bid over the debt due to them) and no more, I have submitted to you, out of numerous precedents, a copy of a letter of Mallius Crassus the dioecetes.'

40 ὑπεροχή: this, as Pringsheim points out, is the first instance of the term in the papyri. An example of ὑπεροχα (plural), however, has been found by Kalbfleisch, 'Hyperocha', *Archiv* xv (1953), pp. 106 seq., in a second-century Giessen papyrus; ll. 6 seq. read: ... και έστω ή πράξις Αφροδοῦτι ως προγέγραπται, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐκ τῶν ὑπερόχων ἀπεδότ[ω] (sic).

ἀπό πλείονων, κτλ.: cf. 237, vii 13 seq.: ὅτι δὲ ταῦ(τα) οὕτως ἔχει, ἵνα και ταύτης αὐτὸν τῆς προφάσεως ἀπαλλάξω, υπεράξά σοι ἀπό πλείονω[ν] περί τούτου κριθέντων ὀλίγας ἡγεμόνων και ἐπιτρόπων και ἀρχιδικαστῶν κρίσεις, κτλ. Pringsheim draws attention to Jolowicz's article 'Case Law in Roman Egypt', *Journal of the Society of Public Teachers of Law*, 1937; noting that the present case is an example of a single decision used as a precedent.

43 seqq. 'Mallius Crassus to Herodes, strategus of the Mendesian nome, greeting. I have sent you a petition of Damarion son of Isidorus, with my signature; now, if the said loan took place before Apollonius, the other debtor, became strategus, and this claim was thereafter handed over in the record-office under his name, the loan is not cancelled; if, as the chrematistae say(?), contracts(?) are produced from the archive in Alexandria, it is sufficient(?) for the hypothecated property to be auctioned and sold(?), the excess, if any, settling(?) the debts of the aforesaid Apollonius.'

The correspondence cited concerns an earlier case from the Mendesian nome. It begins with a pronouncement sent in 159 to Herodes, strategus of that nome, by the διοικητής, Mallius Crassus. The petitioner is one Damarion; one of the debtors is Apollonius, who has been a strategus. Now there is a document, P. Ryl. 427, in many fragments, which may relate to this very case. It is from a body of official correspondence from the Mendesian nome itself (Thmouis) and is largely concerned with the sale of property by auction; one of the people mentioned in it is Apollonius, strategus of the Mendesian nome. (The property itself is perhaps not necessarily situated there.) The editors of P. Ryl. 427 supply in fr. 46, 12 seq.: Σεουήρο]ν και Αντωνίνου, which would date the document at least as late as Severus and Caracalla; but the supplement seems uncertain, and the only date expressly mentioned is 'year 20 of Antoninus' in fr. 17+18. (In fr. 32 Antoninus is spoken of as deceased.) Most of the Thmouis papyri seem to belong to the second century rather than the third.

43 Mallius Crassus was not previously known as διοικητής; but in P. Tebt. 287, 7 (A.D. 161-9) we hear of a Crassus whose title the editors restore as ἐπιστράτηγ[ον]. The case in which he takes part (see editors' note on l. 6, p. 50) is some years earlier. (Note that by 162 the διοικητής is Vonasius Facundus.)

49 χρηματισμοί(?) ἐπενεχθῶσι, κτλ.: cf. 237 v 27 seq.: ... τοσοῦτων χρηματισμῶ]ν περί τῶν νο[.....] ὑπὸ τῶν βιβλιοφυλάκων ἐπενηγμένων?

50 This assumes that βιβλιοφυλάκιου has been abbreviated as in 47, above.

ὑποθηκμαία: as Pringsheim notes, the subst. is not found elsewhere before the Byzantine period.

51 ἐκφέρεισθαι in the sense 'pay', 'settle' a debt seems unknown elsewhere; a sixth-century example of ἐκφέρειν meaning 'abliefern (Steuern)' is given in *Wb.*

55 The feminine proper name *Τααρτύσις* is found in *SB.* 7460, 37 (2nd cent.); [...σ]ης after the lacuna will agree with it. The connexion of Taartysis with Damarion is obscure.

56 Perhaps βουλόμει[ός σε φροντίσαι; cf. *P. Würzb.* 9, 56.

76 *Κόσμος*: no doubt the *ἐπίτροπος* (οὐσιακῶν or εἰκοστῶν?) of *P. Ross.-Georg.* ii 26 (A.D. 160). In *P. Ryl.* 427, fr. 16, αἰρεσίν σοι δέδωκεν κοσ[might refer to the same person.

77 ἀγραφεῖ οἱ ἂ γράφει?

2412. ACCOUNT OF MONEY PAYMENTS

46.5 × 35 cm.

A.D. 28/9.

After a heading, unfortunately mutilated (1-7), an account recording money payments extending over three years—the 14th, 13th, and 12th of Tiberius, in that order—for poll tax and various trade taxes, and for 'the price of wheat', from six villages; of these, four—Ogou, Tekmi, Kollint(athyr), Pyrgo(tos)—are known to be in the Heracleopolite nome; the name of another, Mouchis, is known as a village in that nome and of one in the Fayûm, and the remaining name, Ibion, is common all over Egypt. This, together with the occurrence of proper names (for instance, Panetbeuis) characteristic of the Heracleopolite nome,¹ makes it certain that the document originated there.

The text is written in a neat upright hand. In col. i at irregular intervals, and without apparent relevance to the original text, some amounts in talents and drachmae have been jotted down in the thick sloping hand of a text on the verso; since it seems likely that they relate rather to the latter, they have been ignored here. Of the ἀργυρικά, the most regular payment is that made for λαογραφία, at the rather high rate of 24 dr. 2 ob. yearly; a number of entries record a reduced payment of 8 dr. for persons deceased—evidently during the current year. To the amounts for poll tax are occasionally added charges for various χειρωνάξια; that for tailors (ἡπη(τῶν)), ll. 36, 39, 137, at 6 dr.; for weavers(?) (γε(ρδίων?)), l. 41, at 6 dr.; for potters (κεραμ(έων)), for one individual three times (ll. 76, 158, 187), at 24 dr.; for another twice (ll. 98, 166) at 40 dr.; for brick-makers (πλιν(θευτῶν)), l. 100, at 24 dr.; for florists(?) (στε(φανοπλόκων?)), l. 139, at 6 dr.; for an unspecified χειρωνάξιον, l. 37, at 6 dr.; another unspecified charge, in l. 57, of 9 dr.

On τιμὴ πυροῦ in general, see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, pp. 24, 365 seq. Here we find it, as we should have expected, collected with money taxes. The sums in 33, 123, 133 are puzzling; in each case the total is nearly, but not quite, the sum of the previous entries. It is also hard to see the significance of the higher figure in 123.

¹ Skeat, however, notes the occurrence in lines 43 seq. of two names virtually confined to the Fayûm: Stotoetis and Petesuchus.

		i	
		[	ου περ[.]εκ[
		[	τόπου
		[	]θροῖς καὶ δυσ-
		[	π]ρὸς τιμὴν πυροῦ
5		[	] καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ
		[	]Τιβ[βε]ρίου Καίσαρος
		[	τιμῆς π]υροῦ καὶ ἀργυρικῶν
		[	]L
		[	]υγ ς
		[	]υγ =
10		[	]λ
		[	]ς
		[	]λε
		[	]κ
		[	]κ
		[	]Ἀπολλῶς Διονυσσοδ(ώρου)
15		[	]οε
		[	]κβ
		[	]κς
		[	]υγ
		[	]ἀσλα-ς
20		[	]φπγϛ
		[	]κ[
		[	]κγς
		[	]κ. ςς
		[	]κ
25		[	]κςς
		[]·
		[	]λε
		[	]ιε
		[	]οε
30		[	]κςς
		ii	
		Ἀπολλῶς Διονυσσοδ(ώρου)	κςςς
		Ἡρακλᾶς Ἀπολλῶ(τος) μολιβ(ουργός)	πηϛ
		(γίν.) τιμῆς (πυροῦ) ἰδ (ἔτους)	λξηϛ

	ἀργυρι[κῶ]ν ἰδ (ἔτους) Τέκμυ	
35	Σεμ[θον]άης Τρύφωνος	
	χει(ρωναξίου) ἡπη(τῶν) ς λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.) λ =	
	Ἀρωάτης Κομανο(ῖ) χει(ρωναξίου)	ς
	Ἀρίστιππος Ὀνώφριο(ς)	
	χει(ρωναξ.) ἡπη(τῶν) ς λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.) λ =	
40	Κο[λλ]ούτης Σεμβοναέυς	
	χει(ρωναξ.) γε(ρδίων?) ς λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.) λ =	
	Παθώτης Ἡρακλείο(υ) λ(αο)γρ.	κδ =
	Στοτοῆτις Ὀρου	κδ =
	Πετσο(ῦχος) Οση() Στοτο(ήτεως) Στώ(εως)	κδ =
45	Ὀνώφρις Ἀριστί(ππου)	κδ =
	Πετεχῶν υἱός	κδ =
	Ἀρίστιππος ἄλλος	κδ =
	Ἀραβίων ἄλλος	κδ =
	Χ[ατῶ]ις Ἀριστίππο(υ)	κδ =
50	Πετεεμμῆ(ς?) Παλλαῦτο(ς)	κδ =
	Ὀρος ἀδελφός	κδ =
	Σωτήριχ(ος) Ἡρακλείο(υ) Ἀρρικ(ῶτος)	κδ =
	Πτόλλις Φίλωνος	κδ =
	Ὀρος Ἡράτο(ς) Διοσκοῦ(τος)	κδ =
55	Σεμβονάης Τρύφωνο(ς)	κδ =
	Ἀτείς Ἰσιδώρου	
	ἐπ' ἴσης θ λ(αο)γρ. κδ =	λγ =
	Ἄδραστος Ἰσιδώρου	κδ =
	Φίβις πρεσβ(ύτερος) Ἀτρέυς	κδ =
60	Στῶς ἀδελφός	κδ =
	Πετεῆτις Σώμφιος	κδ =
	Μόις Μόιτος ἰχθυ(σπάλης?)	κδ =
	Ἡρᾶς Διοσκοῦτο(ς)	κδ =

40 l. Σεμβοναέως: -εως for -εως *passim* in this text

iii

	Ἀσφεὺς Φίβιος λ(αο)γρ.	κδ =
65	Στῶς Ψενταῆ(τος)	κδ =

	Ὀρος ἀδελφός	κδ =
	Διονύσιο(ς) Ἀρτεμιδ(ῶρου)	κδ =
	Ἀρρικῶς Ἡρακλείο(υ)	κδ =
	Σωτήριχ(ος) ἀδελφός	κδ =
70	Πανετβεῦς —	κδ =
	Κεφαλᾶς Πτολεμαίο(υ)	κδ =
	Ἰβίωνος	
	Ὀλόκαλος —	κδ =
	Κολλιντ(αθύρ)	
75	Σεμβεῦς Ὀρου	
	κεραμ(έων) [κ]δ λ(αο)γρ. [κδ] = (γίν.)	μη =
	Σεμβε[ῦς] Πετρενου()	κδ =
	Ἀρπαῆσ[ις] αρχω() ἀρσή(σιος?) υἱό(ς?)	κδ =
	Σεμβεῦς Πετρενου()	κδ =
80	Ὀρος Ἐργέως	κδ =
	Πετρενου() Ἀροντώ(του)	κδ =
	Ἀπολλῶς Ὀρου	κδ =
	Σωτήριχ(ος) Πατναῦτιο(ς)	κδ =
	Σεμβεῦς Ὀρου Κεπάρι(ος?)	κδ =
85	Πανετβεῦς Σεμβ()	κδ =
	ἐτελ(εύτησαν)	
	Ἀτρῆς Ὀρου	η
	Φαμῆς Ἀπολλωνίο(υ)	η
	Ὀρος Σεμβε[ῦς]	η
90	Πυργῶ(τος)	
	Οὐαφρῆς Παρμενίο(υ)	κδ =
	Κεφαλᾶς Ἀμολέυς	κδ =
	Ὀνώ(φρις) Ἀμολέυς	κδ =
	Σεμβεῦς — θανό(ντος?)	κδ[=]
95	Ὀρος Πετσοεί(ρεως) ἐτελ(εύτησαν)	η
	Ὀγου	
	Θέων Ῥωμαίου	
	κεραμ(έων) μ λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.)	ξδ =

	iv	
	Μούχε[ως]	
100	χει(ρωναξ.) πλιν(θευτών) Πάεις — λαογρ(αφίας)	κδ
	Ἄρβαίθης *Ωρου	κδ =
	Σαρακοῦς Σωπᾶτο(s)	κδ =
	Σωσᾶς Παρετβ(εύεως)	κδ =
105	Στοιείμης Ξισόιτρο(s)	κδ =
	Σωσᾶς Παναῦτος	κδ =
	Ἄρψῆμις Ξεμθέως	κδ =
	Σαράς Πάιτος	κδ =
	Ἀθηνόδωρο(s) Ζωίλο(v)	κδ =
110	Νεχθεμβῆς υἱός	κδ =
	Ἄτρῆς Θεοδώρου	κδ =
	Πεβαῦς Ζάννιδ(ος)	κδ =
	Σεμθομημός —	κδ =
	Ἄτρῆς Σεμθομημόιτ(ος)	κδ =
115	Νικόστρατος Ἡράτο(s)	κδ =
	Πετοσεῖ(ρις) Πανετβ(εύεως)	κδ =
	Χατῦλις Πετώντ[ο](s) ἐτελ(εύτησεν)	η
	Πανετβε(ῦις) Παθείκου	κδ =
	Στῶνς Ζωίλου	κδ =
120	Στῶνς — κηρ()	κδ =
	Στῶνς Πάιτος	κδ =
	Παποντῶ(s) Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)	κδ =
	(γίν.) ἰδ(ἔτους) ἀργ(υρικ.) ἀλγ =	
	(γίν.) ἄμια =	

v

125	(γίν.) ἰγ(ἔτους) τιμῆς (πυρ.)	
	*Ωρος Σεμθογα....	ιξ
	Σεμθίων Παρμενί[ο](v)	ιηξ
	Ἀπολλῶ(s) Διονυσ(οδώρου)	κζξ
	Ἀρπαῆσι(s) Κεφαλᾶτ[ο](s)	κ
130	Πανετβε(ῦις) Παθείκου	κς

	Ἡρακλᾶς Ἀπολλῶ(τος)	εβξ
	Σεμθίων Παρμενί(ο)	ιε
	(γίν.) τιμῆς (πυρ.) ἰγ(ἔτους)	σιγξ
	ἀργυρικῶν τοῦ ἰγ(ἔτους)	
135	Τέκμ	
	Ἀρίστιππο(s) Ὀννώφρι(ο)	
	χει(ρωναξ.) ἠπη(τῶν) ς λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.)	λ =
	Κολλούθης Σεμθ[ο]ν[αέυς]	
	χει(ρωναξ.) στε(φανοπλόκων?) ς λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.)	λ =
140	*Ὀννώφρις Ἀριστί(ππου)	κδ =
	Ἀράτιππος υἱός	κδ =
	Ἀραβίων ἄλλο(s)	κδ =
	Χατῦλις Ἀριστίππου	κδ =
	Πετεμμη(ῆς) Παλλαῦτο(s)	κδ =
145	*Ωρος ἀδελφός	κδ =
	Πανετβ(εύις) —	κδ =
	Σωτήριχ(ος) Ἡρακλεί(ο) Ἄρπι(κῶτος)	κδ =
	Στῶνς Ἡρακλείου	κδ =
	*Ωρος υἱός	κδ =
150	Πετεῆτης Σώμφιος	κδ =
	Πτόλλις Φίλωνο(s)	κδ =
	Σωτήριχ(ος) Ἡρακλείου Τνε.ο()	κδ =
	Ἄδραστος Ἰσιδώρου	κδ =
	Στῶνς Ἀτρέυς	κδ =
155	ύ() Παλλαῦς Ὀννώ(φριος)	κδ =
	Κολλυτ(αθύρ)	
	Σεμθέ(υ)ς *Ωρ[ου]	
	κερ(αμέων) κδ λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.)	μη[=]

141 l. Ἀρίστιππος

vi

	Σωτήριχ(ος) Πατναούτι(ο) λ(αο)γρ.	κ[δ=]
160	Ἀπολλῶς *Ωρος	κδ[=]
	Σεμθομημός —	κδ[=]
	Ἄτρῆς Ἀρυώτου	κδ[=]

	Σεμθομηούς Ἀρυ[ώτ]ρ(υ)	κδ[=]
	*Ο[γ]ου	
165	Θέων Ῥωμαίου	
	κεραμ(έων) μ λ(αο)γρ. κδ[δ]= (γίν.)	ξ[δ=]
	Πυργῶ(τος)	
	Οὐα[φ]ρήσ Παρμενίου(υ)	κδ[=]
	*Ωρος Πετοσει(ρεως)	κδ[=]
170	Ἀρπαῆσις Κεφαλᾶτο(ς)	κδ[=]
	(γίν.) ἀργ(υρικὰ) ιγ (ἔτους) ψ.[]	
	ιβ (ἔτους) ἀργυρικῶν	
	Τέκμυ	
	*Ογνώφρις Ἀριστί(ππου)	[κδ=]
175	Πετεχῶν υἱός	[κδ=]
	Ἀρ[α]βίων ἄλλος	[κδ=]
	Ἀρ[στ]ιππος ἄλλος	[κδ=]
	Χατῦλις Ἀριστίππου(υ)	[κδ=]
	Στῶ[υς] Ἡρακλείου(υ)	[κδ=]
180	*Ωρος υἱός	κδ=
	Ἄδραστος Ἴσι[δ]ώρο[υ]	κδ=
	Ἀκῶρις Πά[ι]το[ς]	κδ=
	Μόρις — ἰχθυ(οπώλης?) ἐτελ(εύτησεν)	η
	Πανετβ(εῦς) Χακρεν[]	
185	Κολλωντ(αθύρ)	
	Σεμθεῦς *Ωρου	
	κεραμ(έων) κδ [λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.)	μδ=]
	Ἀπολλῶς *Ωρ[ου]	κδ=]
	Πυργῶ(τος) ἀργυρ[ικῶν]	
190	Οὐαφρήσ Π[αρμενίου(υ)	κδ=]
	(γίν.) ἀργ(υρικ.)[]	

3 seq. ἀνδρῶν καὶ δυο[βρόχοις? But if so, the relevance of this to the text which follows is not apparent.

5 seq. ἀπὸ / [τοῦ . . . ἔτους?

8 The sign after the lacuna may be either (ἔτους) or one of the signs of abbreviation used in this text.

8-33 record payments of *τιμὴ πυροῦ*; 19 is probably a total.

14 Evidently as 31, 128; the figure being the same for this man in all three cases. Some of the names in 126-32 may be conjectured in col. i where the sums are the same; they are not so, however, in the case of Heraclis son of Apollon who in 32 pays 88 dr. 3 ob., but in 131, 92 dr. 3 ob.

The lists of *τιμὴ πυροῦ* evidently lump together names from all the villages separately listed for the *ἀργυρικά*, since Harpaesis son of Cephalas in 129 is stated in the poll tax list (170) to be from Pyrgo(tos), whereas Panetbeuis son of Patheikos (130) is from Mouchis (118).

32 *μολιβ(ουργός)*: for variant spellings, see *Wb.* i, II. Band, 113 seq.

34 seqq. The lists of payments of *ἀργυρικά* from the respective villages naturally repeat many of the same names from year to year. In some cases not only the name of the taxpayer's father, but further details are given—the name of the grandfather of the taxpayer, or his occupation.

57 *ἐπ' ἰσῆς*: the expression here is obscure.

62 This is the only case in which the name of a taxpayers's father, if identical with the son's, is written in full. Elsewhere we find in place of it a dash, representing *ὁμοίως*; with which compare the sign used in BGU 91. In 183, below, where the same man is mentioned, his father's name is replaced by the dash.

78 *ἀρχω()*: *ἀρχω(υ)* seems most unlikely.

86 Similar notes about deceased persons in P. Princeton 8, iv 12; *ibid.* 9, iv 2; 10.

120 *κηρ()*: *κῆρ(υξ)*, or some trade connected with *κηρός*, 'wax'?

124 The sum of the preceding entries seems to be 1,815 dr. 4 ob.

126 Not *Σεμθοναεύς* (= *-έως*).

127 The same name below, 132.

133 The sum of the above entries is actually 215 dr. 1 ob.

152 *νε.ο()*: perhaps another name; but, if so, from its form it should be feminine.

171 The total is actually 757 dr. 2 ob.

183 See 62, above.

2413. ACCOUNT OF TAX ARREARS

34 × 36 cm.

Probably after A.D. 140.

A list of arrears in money payments; two columns, which are fairly well preserved, contain entries in retrospective order from the second year of an unspecified emperor, evidently Antoninus Pius, to the fifteenth of his predecessor Hadrian; headings (21; 36) indicate past Prefects of Egypt to whose periods of office the years belonged. Most of the document is in a practised but ugly backward-sloping hand, variable in size; two entries in a second, more cursive and sloping hand evidently represent certifications by an official, but these have proved partly illegible. The end of an entry in this second hand is all that remains of a preceding column (i) on the left; it reads] *προσκήσθ(αι?)*, and below this, the entry having been too long to finish in one line, . . . *ἔως Ἀδρ[ι]ανοῦ* (ἔτους). The remains of checking strokes to the right of the top of col. iii show that a fourth column followed it; since none are visible lower down, column iv was evidently short and ended the document. The chief value of the text lies in its mention of the prefect Baienus Blastianus. This man will almost certainly be identical with the unplaced prefect Bla. . . cited by Stein in *Die Präfekten von Ägypten*, p. 161 (cf. pp. 167, 181, 183 seq.) from *CIL* xiv 5431, and said by him to be 'certainly not later than the middle of the second century, probably of the reign of Trajan'. He may now be assigned his exact place in the series from the following considerations: the four successive entries here which mention him plainly imply that he came after Flavius Titianus, whose name occurs also in the heading in 36. On the latter, see Stein,

op. cit., pp. 65 seqq., 192; his known dates are 20/3/126-27/3/133.¹ Arrears existing in the prefecture of Titianus are spoken of as lasting into the prefecture of Baienus, either reduced by subsequent exactions (6 seqq., 15 seqq.) or unreduced (25 seqq., 31 seqq.). The writer's language suggests that Baienus was Titianus' immediate successor; which was no doubt the case. His tenure of office must have been very short, since Petronius Mamertinus, whom Stein not unnaturally assumes to have followed Titianus immediately (see op. cit., p. 192) is first met with in a document dated in the same year, 28/8/133. This accounts for the fact that no other papyrus document mentions Baienus. He has no heading in the present memorandum, since it contains no entry under year 17 of Hadrian, within which his brief prefecture fell.

Written along the fibres. On the verso, written across the fibres, a very fragmentary report of judicial proceedings, dated A.D. 184.

ii

- β (ἔτους) ὁμοίως
 ἔδηλώθη λοιπογράφεισθαι εἰς μῆνα Τύβι τοῦ
 // δ (ἔτους) εἰς τρὺς Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος χρό[νου]ς
 5 / 5 διοικ(ήσει?) [κατ(αλείπεται?)] (δρ.) ἄρρη ϛό χ. γ
- ἐξ ὧν [ἔδηλώθη] εἰσπέπραχθαι
 διὰ λόγου ἱβμή(νου) ἕως Ἀδρι(ανοῦ) ζ (ἔτους) [(δρ.)] ψι ϛό χ. γ
 (2nd h.) αἰ ἐπὶ τῆς ε.. () συμφων () [ε..].θ() πρόσκεισθ(αι) ἕως Ἀδρι(ανοῦ)
 5 (ἔτους)
- καταλεί(πεται) εἰς μῆνα Μ[εσορῆ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζ [(ἔτους)]
 10 / εἰς τοὺς Βαιήνου Βλαστιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος χρόνους (δρ.) βτμζ ϛ.
- α (ἔτους) ὁμοίως ἔδηλώθη λοιπογραφεῖσθαι
 // εἰς μῆνα Τύβι τοῦ δ (ἔτους) εἰς τοὺς Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ
 / τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος χρόνους (δρ.) βτκγ - χ.
 15 / ἐξ ὧν ἔδηλώθη(η) εἰσπέπραχθαι
 διὰ λόγου ἱβμή(νου) ἕως Ἀδρι(ανοῦ) ζ (ἔτους) (δρ.) ρλγ ϛό χ.
 (2nd h.) αἰ ἐπὶ τῆς ε.. () συμφων () ε..θ() πρόσκεισθ(αι) ἕως Ἀδρι(ανοῦ)
 5 (ἔτους)

¹ Another identically named, whose dates are Aug. 164-24/6/167, see Stein, op. cit., p. 192, is impossible in the present context.

καταλεί(πεται) εἰς μῆνα Μεσορῆ τοῦ ζ (ἔτους) εἰς τοὺς Βαιήνου
 Βλαστιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος χρόνους

20 (δρ.) βρπθ = χ. γ

iii

Πετρ[ωνίου] Μαμερτείνου χρόνων
 κα (ἔτους) Α[δ]ριανοῦ

// [ἔδηλ]ώθη λοιπο[γράφεισθαι] εἰς μῆνα Τύβι τοῦ δ (ἔτους)

[εἰς τοὺς Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύ-

25 / σ[αντος] χρόνους] αἰ καὶ λοιπογράφ(αφούνται) εἰς μῆνα

Μ[εσορῆ] τοῦ ζ (ἔτους) εἰς τοῦ]ς Βαιήνου Βλαστιανοῦ

[τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος] χρόνους καταλ(είπεται) (δρ.) τκδ ϛό χ. γ.

κ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως]

ἐ[δηλώθη] λοιπο[γράφεισθαι] εἰς μῆνα Τύβι τοῦ δ (ἔτους)

30 [εἰς τοὺς Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος

[χρόνους αἰ καὶ] εἰς μῆνα Μεσορῆ] τ[ο]ῦ ζ [(ἔτους)] λοιπογράφ(αφούνται)

[εἰς τοὺς Βαιήνου] Βλαστιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος

χρόνους κατ(αλείπεται) (δρ.) ρλ ϛό χο.

// 5 ιθ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως ὡσ(αύτως?) διοικ(ήσει?) κατ(αλείπεται) (δρ.) λβ

35 // 5 ιη (ἔτους) ὁμοίως(ς) ὡσ(αύτως?) διοικ(ήσει?) κατ(αλείπεται) (δρ.) [.]μη

Φλαυίου Τι[τι]ανοῦ χρόνων

// 5 ις (ἔτους) ὁμοίως(ς) διοικ(ήσει?) κατ(αλείπεται) (ταλ.) α (δρ.) ἐψκθ = χ. α

// 5 ιε (ἔτους) ὁμοίως(ς) ὡσ(αύτως?) διοικ(ήσει?) κατ(αλείπεται) (δρ.) φλα - ϛ

ii A heading *Λουιδίου Ἡλιοδώρου χρόνων* no doubt preceded the last entry in the preceding column.

3 The second *εἰς* here and elsewhere below may be taken to mean '(and further extending) into'.

5 Here and 34 seqq. below, what seems to be the figure 5; has this any connexion with the 'sixth year of Hadrian' mentioned in the entries by the second hand?

8 The cursiveness of the writing and the abbreviations make these entries obscure. They presumably certified that the other writer's statements had been checked by reference to official documents as far back as Hadrian's year 6, the year before that mentioned in most of the entries. The last entry in col. iv may have cited year 7 of Hadrian.

11 The calculation—the sum mentioned in l. 5 minus that in l. 7—is correct; so, apparently, is that in the next entry (l. 20).

21 For Petronius Mamertinus, see Stein, op. cit., pp. 68 seqq.

2414. ACCOUNT OF TAXATION

39x32 cm. Late second to early third century.

On the verso of 2411. Remains of three columns in a literary hand; of col. i only the ends of some lines remain. The last lines of col. iii, which give the total of the preceding entries, evidently end the account. The large sums involved suggest that the document comes from the office of a high official. A somewhat similar text is the Mendesian tax account P. Ryl. ii 213 (late 2nd cent.), from Thmuis. On the term *διοίκησις* in that text, see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 332. The sense in which the term is used here will be comparable with the narrower, rather than the wider of its applications in the Rylands text, since it here excludes *λαογραφία* and *χωματικόν* (ii 7 seq.; iii 8 seq.). It is unfortunate that the details of the subdivision of this department specified at the top of col. ii here are too mutilated to be read. It also excludes *φόρος προσοδικῶν* (*ἐδαφῶν*) (ii 6; iii 7), on which see Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 383, with the references cited by him in the latter place. The lists of *εἰδῆ* (cf. Wallace, p. 332), besides mentioning well-known taxes such as *ὀθονηρά* (ii 11; iii 16), *ύικῆ* (ii 14; iii 14; Wallace, pp. 143 seqq.), (*ἐξαδραχμία*) *ὄνων* (ii 15; iii 13; Wallace, pp. 90 seqq.), *ἐννόμιον* (ii 16; iii 15; Wallace, pp. 86 seqq.), *χειρωνάξιον γερδίων* (ii 17), have informative references to some less well known: in ii 13 *τοκαδείας χ[...]* *καὶ ὀρνείθ(ων)*, *χ[ηνώ]* is probable (cf. PSI 961, *passim*, where *τοκάδες* are geese), but *χ[οίρω]* might be restored; cf. Wallace, p. 93; for *πελωχικόν* (ii 22) see Wallace, pp. 222, 467; with this and the other taxes mentioned in ii 19 seqq., cf. P. Lond. 856, 16 seqq. (1st cent., probably from the Delta, see Wallace, pp. 270 seq.): ... *ἀγορανομίας ὠνίων καὶ πελωχικοῦ* (?; so the editors of P. Ryl. ii 167, 20, note, and Bell, for ed. gr. *πυλωγικοῦ*) *καὶ μνημονείου καὶ τῶν ἄλλ[ω]ν εἰδῶ[ν] καὶ γραφείου ὄρου μητ[ρο]πόλεως.*

ii

[]
[	ζύων (δρ.) υκε []
[...]	τροῖς ἐπιμε[...]() [...]
[...]	ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ
[...]	ἄλλων (δρ.) ἀχς = . /
5	[γί]ν. διοικήσεως (τάλ.) ε (δρ.) βυιε - ὅ χ. α'
	φόρου προσοδικῶν ἐδαφῶν (δρ.) χθ f' /
	λαογραφίας (τάλ.) ις (δρ.) ὄσπε /
	χωματικοῦ (τάλ.) γ (δρ.) ψμς = χ /
	ἐρατικῶν (τάλ.) ις (δρ.) ἐφ[...] = χ. γ'
10	ε[ι]δῶν
	ὀθονηρᾶς (τάλ.) α (δρ.) ἀωδ f' /

	τέλους συναλλαγματογρ(αφίας)	(δρ.) υςζ .. χ. /
	τοκαδείας χ[ηνώ]ν καὶ ὀρνείθ(ων)	(δρ.) .φ.η.. /
	ύικῆς	(δρ.) β[...]. ὅ /
15	5(δρ.) ὄνων	(δρ.) ἄλ[]
	ἐννομίου καὶ ἄλλων	(δρ.) β..α /
	χειρωνάξιου γερδίων	(τάλ.) γ (δρ.) ἄνκδ f[]
	[χ]ειροτέχνων	(δρ.) βρο f
	μνημονείου καὶ γρ(αφείου)	(δρ.) ὄχ..[]
20	.... οφυλακίας	(δρ.) ἄλφδ.[]
	ἀρχ...τίας καὶ ἀγορ(ανομίας)	(τάλ.) β[...]. []
	πελ[ω]χι[κο]ῦ	(τάλ.)....
	[. κλ]ηρ[ούχων?] μαχίμων	(δρ.) []
	(γίν.) εἰδῶν	(τάλ.) ιβ (δρ.) []

3 After second lacuna, trace of the abbreviation sign used throughout this text as elsewhere except ii 24, iii 17, where it is $\overline{\text{C}}$ 9 ἱερατικῶν

5 γίν. =

iii

	κ(δρ.) καὶ μ(δρ.) πι χοι.[.....].... (δρ.) .[]
	ἀριθμητικοῦ κατορ[ίκων] (τάλ.) ε (δρ.) δ[]
	γεωμετρίας (τάλ.) ιγ (δρ.) ἐσ[]
	γίν. τοῦ λόγου (τάλ.) ρλδ (δρ.) οε[]
5	καὶ διὰ λόγου ἐμήνου ἕως Παχῶν κ.[]
	διοικήσεως (τάλ.) ς (δρ.) ε[]
	φόρ[ο]ν προσοδικῶν []
	λα[ο]γραφίας (δρ.) ἀφ[]
	χ[ω]ματικοῦ (τάλ.) δ (δρ.) ἀτζζ[]
10	ἱ[ε]ρατικῶν (τάλ.) ιη (δρ.) δωπ[]
	ε[ι]δῶν
	τ[ε]λους συναλλαγματογρ(αφίας) (δρ.) σ.[]
	5(δρ.) ὄνων (δρ.) ε
	[ύ]κῆς (δρ.) κβ
15	ἐννομίου (δρ.) (blank) .[]
	ὀθονηρᾶς (δρ.) ρκ[]
	(γίν.) εἰδῶν (δρ.) []
	κ(δρ.) καὶ μ(δρ.) (τάλ.) γ (δρ.) β[]

	ἀριθμητικοῦ κατοίκων	(δρ.) . . []
20	[γ]εωμετρίας	(τάλ.) κς []
	γίν. τοῦ λόγου	(τάλ.) ξ (δρ.) ὕψ []
	γίν. τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀρποκρατίω[ος εἰσπε-]	
	πραγμένων	(τάλ.) ρςδ (δρ.) []

7 This entry was perhaps subsequently added; the amount may have been added on the right, since there was no space for it between the lines 22 l. τοῦ

ii 3 seq. [ἐν?] τοῖς ἐπιμε[ρισμοῖς] τῶν ἐπι[μελητῶν] καὶ / [ἄ]λλων?

23 For the μάχοι, see P. Ryl. 202, 5, and note *ad loc.*; cf. P. Princeton 38, 6, and note.

iii 1 π. χοι. [is puzzling; there is a space, but no mark of abbreviation, after π. Neither a personal name nor a place-name was to be expected here.

22 seq. A Harpocraton was royal scribe and acting strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome c. 186 (see Henne, *Liste des Stratèges*, p. 30), and an Aurelius H. was strategus there in 219/21 (op. cit., p. 31); but there is nothing to indicate the office of the Harpocraton mentioned here, or to prove the special connexion of this document with that nome.

2415. ACCOUNT OF CORN FREIGHTS

47.5 × 23.3 cm.

Late third century.

This text is similar in import to 1048, which is, however, considerably later (late fourth or early fifth century). It is a list of vessels, stating under whom each is sailing (ὑπό with accusative; cf. P. Rend. Harr. 94, *passim*), with a total in artabas at the end of each entry. The kind of vessel is often specified; in the case of the bigger ones the estimated capacity is given; it is always considerably exceeded by the second figure, which is evidently the amount actually carried; the vessels were presumably loaded down to the water-line. In some cases the ensign (παρ(άσημον)) of the boat is specified. The document is probably a list of vessels which will depart from the harbour of Oxyrhynchus after their cargo has been checked by inspectors. For the transport of corn, see Rostovtzeff, *Archiv* iii 201 seqq.; Wilcken, *Grdz.*, pp. 378 seqq.; Hohlwein, *Ét. de Pap.* iv 110 seqq.; Börner, *Der staatl. Korntransport im gr.-röm. Ägypten*, Diss. Hamburg, 1939; O. M. Pearl in *TAPA* lxxxiii 74 seqq. The departures are not dated; they must extend over some time, since two of the boats and their captains occur twice (see 31 seq., 60 seq.; 33 seq., 76). On the verso is 2425.

		i
[	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἴρ, ᾧ παρ(άσημον)	
[		](ἀρτ.) ἴυ
[	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) . . .] ᾧ παρ(άσημον)	
[		(ἀρτ.) ἴρση (ἡμ.).
5	[	ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου

2415. ACCOUNT OF CORN FREIGHTS

177

[		](ἀρτ.) ἄκ
[	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἴφ, ᾧ παρ(άσημον)	
[		](ἀρτ.) ἴω
[	ἀπὸ τοῦ Κ[ι]νοπολ(ίτου) (ἀρτ.) φπε (ἡμ.)	
10	[	κλ. . . . (ἀρτ.) φιε
[		του (ἀρτ.) ἀφκβ
[	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἴρ, παρ(άσημον)	
[		](ἀρτ.) ἴυ

Another 8 lines at the bottom of this column lost; the last word in l. 21 will have been παρ(άσημον)

		ii
	[Διόσκο]υροι	(ἀρτ.) υλβ
	[ἄλλο ὑπ]ὸ Θεοκλήν καὶ Ἡρᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑψηλίτου	
	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἴρ, παρ(άσημον) Ἄμμων	(ἀρτ.) ἴυς
25	[ὑπὸ Σιλ]βανὸν Βησα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λυκοπολ(ίτου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) βχ, ᾧ παρ(άσημον)	
	Ἀπόλλων	(ἀρτ.) βωξ
	ὑπὸ Ἀμμώνιον καὶ Ἡρακ(λ)ᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου	
	Χωρίου ἀγ(ωγῆς) βψ, παρ(άσημον) Ἐρμῆς (ἀρτ.) ἴα	
	ὑπὸ . . . ὠν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄνω Κυνοπολ(ίτου)	
30	[ἀγ(ωγῆς)] (ἀρτ.) ἴτ, ᾧ παρ(άσημον) Διόνυσος (ἀρτ.) ἴχλ	
	χορηγῶν ὑπὸ Παρίονα Σερήνου ἀπὸ τοῦ	
	Ὀξυρυγχίτου ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἄ	(ἀρτ.) ἄκβ
	π[λοῖ(ον)] δημόσιον ὑπὸ Σύρον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μετη-	
	λείτου ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἄω, παρ(άσημον) Ἄμμων	(ἀρτ.) ἄλρη
35	ὑπὸ Παῆσιον Ἀτρήτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου (ἀρτ.) ἄφ	
	ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Παρίονα ἀπὸ τοῦ	
	Λυκοπολ(ίτου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἄν, παρ(άσημον) Πύθιος (ἀρτ.) ἄφνς	
	ἄ[λλο] ὑπὸ Ἀρποκρατίωνα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεοντοπολ(ίτου),	
	παρ(άσημον) Χρησμ[ό]ς ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) βσ	(ἀρτ.) βυμξ
40	πλοῖ(ον) δ[η]μ(όσιον) ὑπὸ Πύθωνα Δωροθέου ἀπὸ τοῦ	
	Λυκοπολ(ίτου) (ἀρτ.) ἄφν, παρ(άσημον) Πύθιος (ἀρτ.) ἄφε	
	ὑπὸ Κολλοῦθον ἀπὸ τοῦ Προσωπίτου	

		iii
	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ὠν, παρ(άσημον) Π[ό]ντος (ἀρτ.) λμε	
	πλοῖ(ον) ζευγματικὸν ὑπὸ Ἀγαθὸς (sic) Δαίμονα Πατιήσιος	

- 45 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλεαρχία[s] (ἀρτ.) φε
 πολύκωπον ὑπὸ Νεμ[ε]σιανὸν Διονυσίου ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Ἑρακλεοπολίτ[ο]ν (ἀρτ.) φε
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Ἰέρακα Σιλ[λ]βανοῦ ἀπὸ τρυῦ Ἀπολλωνοπολ(ίτου)
 ναυκ(λήρου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀρ, παρ(άσημον) Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀπόλλων
 (ἀρτ.) ἀρι.
- 50 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Δίδυμον ἀπὸ τρυῦ Ἀρσωοίτου χορτηγόν
 (ἀρτ.) ἀιε
 πολύκ(ωπου) ὑπὸ Πεκῦσιν Διογ(υσίου?) ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)
 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Θώνιον Ἀγαθοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)
- 55 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀ (ἀρτ.) ἀρλζ
 ζευγματικὸν ὑπὸ Βελλῆ Κορνηλίου ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Φθενότου (ἀρτ.) υβ
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Κοπρῆ Πάσεως ἀπὸ τοῦ Διοσπολ(ίτου)
 Κάτω (ἀρτ.) φβ
- 60 χορτηγόν ὑπὸ Παρίον[α Σ]ερήνου ἀπὸ το[ῦ]
 Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀ ὄλαμ (ἀρτ.) ἀις
 ὑπὸ Ἡράκλειο[ν κα]ὶ Ἀμβρόσιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ[ι]χ(ίτου)
 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀ (ἀρτ.) ἀις
 ὑπὸ Εὐφράντιον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλεαρχίας (ἀρτ.) φ
- 65 ὑπὸ Παχὸ Κρονίου ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλεαρχ(ίας) (ἀρτ.) χ
- 44 1. Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα; and probably Πετιήσιος

iv

- [...]ντι μέρος δημοσίου ὑ[πὸ]
 [ἀπὸ τοῦ] Προσωπίτου [(ἀρτ.)]
 [ἄλλο] ὑπὸ Ἰσιδωρον Θεοδώρου [ἀπὸ (ἀρτ.)]
 [ἄλλο] ὑπὸ Ὀγγώφριν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπὸ [(ἀρτ.)]
 70 ἄλλο [ὑπὸ] Κόμωνα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄνω [(ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Ἀμβρόσιον Θέωνος [ἀπὸ (ἀρτ.)]
 [ἄλλο] ὑπὸ Ἰσιδωρον Σώζοντ[ος] ἀπὸ [(ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Κρόν[ιο]ν Ἀρίστωνος [ἀπὸ (ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Δωρόθεον Γεμέλλου ἀ[πὸ (ἀρτ.)]
 75 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Ἰσιδω[ρ]ον Κολλούθου [ἀπὸ (ἀρτ.)]

- ἄλλο ὑπὸ Σύρον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μετηλε[ίτου] (ἀρτ.)]
 ὑπὸ Διογένην Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ [(ἀρτ.)]
 ὑπὸ Πετοβάστριν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλεα[ρχίας] (ἀρτ.)]
 ὑπὸ Παυῆ Ἀνικήτου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυ[ρυγχ(ίτου)] (ἀρτ.)]
 80 ὑπὸ Δωρόθεον καὶ Πύθωνα [ἀπὸ (ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Κρονίωνα ἀπὸ Ἑρμο[πολ(ίτου)]
 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) β, παρ(άσημον) Ἰσάριν [(ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Οὐλλπιον Ἀπολλώνιον [.].[ἀπὸ]
 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀρν, παρ(άσημον) Ἄμμων [(ἀρτ.)]
 85 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Σαλούστιον ἀ[πὸ] τοῦ Νειλ[οπολ(ίτου)] (ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Ἄνουβίωνα Σιλβανοῦ ἀ[πὸ]
 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀφν, παρ(άσημον) Ἰσάριν [(ἀρτ.)]

1 παρ(άσημον): for examples of the word, see *WB.*, and Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary of the New Testament*, s.v. The list in the article by M. Merzagora, *Aegyptus* x (1929), p. 148 can now be supplemented. Another Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the third century containing similar descriptions of Nile boats is PSI 1048. See also the text published by Guéraud in *JJP* iv 107 seqq.; there the word is *ἐπίσημον*. With φ, cf. *SB.* 423, 5.

22 Διόσκο[υροι]: cf. Act. Apost. xxviii 11: μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνήχθημεν ἐν πλοίῳ παρακεχειμακῶτι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ, παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις.

27 seq. τοῦ Μεγάλου Χωρίου: doubtful; a place so named occurs in several papyri in Part XVI; see Index to latter.

31 χορτηγόν: χ. πλοία, P. Cairo Zen. 191, 7. The same vessel and captain occur below, 60 seq.

33 The same again below, 76.

39 Χρησμός: no doubt personified as a deity.

41 Before the first figure, ἀγ(ωγῆς) omitted.

43 Π[ό]ντος, as a deity.

44 ζευγματικόν: perhaps a towed vessel. The word occurs as the name of an impost, 2129, 4, etc.; P. Lond. 1157, 6 (both 3rd cent.).¹

45 τῆς Ἑλεαρχίας: so several times below; see P. Ryl. 616, a 9 (A.D. 312), and editors' note on l. 10 there.

49 ναυκ(λήρου): here the owner is personally in charge of the vessel; in other cases it is no doubt a κυβερνήτης.

57 Φθενότου: for this nome, see Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte*, pp. 148 seq.; id. *Dict. Géogr.*, Greek index; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* ii 193*. It is spelt Φθένοτυ in P. Ryl. 616 a ii 18.

61 ὄλαμ: reading and significance uncertain.

66 [...]ντι μέρος κτλ.: can this indicate that only part of the vessel's cargo is corn?

¹ See Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 280.

2416. NOTE ABOUT AN INHERITANCE

29.5 x 38 cm.

Sixth to seventh century.

Recto written across the fibres; address on the verso along them. Papyrus of fair quality. Probably complete, in spite of the absence of any epistolary formulae at the end; there are no formalities elsewhere in the text. The addressee is probably identical with the count Σχολαστικ() mentioned in 1912, 149 (dated by the editors late sixth century); if so, the expansion there should be emended. The writer of P. Ross.-Georg. iii 12 (sixth century; provenance unknown) bears the same name. The writer explains his administration of the division of some moneys left by his sister among her three daughters. To avoid disputes among the interested parties he has framed two separate *mandata*, the details of which are to be withheld from his family.

+ Τὸ σχεδάρων τῆς ὀφειλούςσης γε[νέσθαι διαλύσεως μεταξὺ] τῶν τριῶν κορασιῶν τῶν ἀναμφιῶν ἐπι[. . .] . . . [. . .] ποιῆσαι
 'τὰς διαλύσεις' ὅτε καιρὸς γένηται τοῦ δοθῆναι ἐκ[άστ]ῃ ἃ [ὀφεί]λει λαβεῖν· καὶ ἡ
 μὲν
 τῆς μείζονος διάλυσις γίνεται ὅτι ἔλαβεν κατὰ προσθήκην 'πρόσοδον' νο(μ.) ρκ,
 5 ἡ δὲ τῆς μέσης ὅτι κατὰ προσθήκην ἔλα[β]εν νο(μ.) ρ ὀμ(οίως)· ἡ δὲ τῆς
 μικροτέρας
 οὐδέν· τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ τῶν νο(μ.) ρ τῶν εἰς εὐσε[β]εῖς χρεῖας
 'καταλειφθέντων παρὰ τῆς μακαρίας μου ἀδελφῆς' εἰς μόνην τὴν δ[ι]ά[λ]υσιν
 Πατρικίας δηλονότι πι[π]τ[ε]ι. καὶ ἵνα ἴστε
 ταῦτα καὶ μὴ ἐκκρ[ού]ηται, ἔγραψα· ἐποί[η]σα δὲ καὶ μανδᾶτα δ[ύ]ο,
 ἐπιτρέπων δι' αὐτῶν δοθῆναι αὐταῖς τὰ πράγματα, ἐν μὲν μανδᾶ[τον?]
 10 [ἐπι]τρέπων ταῖς δύο ταῖς μείζ[ο]ν[ε]ραις [αἰτῆ]σαι ἃ ὀφείλουσιν λαβεῖν
 μ[ε]τὰ τῆς προσ[θ]ήκης τῆς προσόδου τ[ῆς] ὀφειλούςσης ἐκάστη
 δοθῆναι, μηδὲ ἐπι[τρ]έπων δοθῆναι τῇ μικρο[τ]έρα ἃ ὀφείλει λαβεῖν
 [. . .] φ[. . .] . . . ἐγὼ γὰρ [ποιῶν?] τ[ῆ]ν προσθήκην δοθῆναι τ[αῖς]
 μείζοτέραις οὐ συνείδον τὸν νόμον μου ὅ[μο]υ εἰδεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτ[ὸς]
 15 πρόφασιν σχῆ τοῦ αἰτεῖν καὶ παρενοχλῆσαι ἡμῖν περὶ προσθ[ή]κ[η]ς·
 ἀλλ' ἴδια ἐποίησα ἐν [τῷ] δευτέρῳ περὶ τῆς μικροτέρας μόνης,
 ἐπιτρέπων αὐτ[ῇ] δοθῆναι τ[ὸ] προσήκον μέρος, μὴ μνησθεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ
 προσθήκ[η]ς, ἵνα μηδενὸς εἰδ[ό]τος [ἡ] διάλυσις γένηται.

Verso

ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ κόμ(ετι) Σχολαστικῷ πα(ρὰ) τοῦ Κύρου.

1 l. σχεδάρων 2 l. ἀμφιῶν 3 κ of ἐκ[άστ]ῃ (if so read) different from that in same word
 in l. 11, and no ι adscript as there 13 Second letter in the line might also be λ; fifth is ι, ρ, φ,
 χ, or ψ

'(I am sending you?) the rough draft of the division which should be made between the three girls, (my) nieces, (with a view to?) making the distributions when the time comes for giving to each what she is entitled to receive. The share of the eldest consists in her having received 120 solidi on the claim that it was an additional sum ("income", above); that of the middle one in her having received 100 solidi on the claim that it was an additional sum similarly; that of the youngest, nothing; but the capital sum of 100 solidi left to pious uses by my late sister evidently falls to the share of Patricia alone (?). And that you may know this and that she may not be ousted from her claim, I have written (to you); and I have made two injunctions, directing thereby that the property be given to them; (by?) one injunction directing that the two elder may claim what they are entitled to receive with the addition of income which ought to be given to each, but not directing that the youngest be given what she is entitled to receive (in the same document?); for when causing (?) the additional sum to be given to the elder ones I did not at the same time (?) take my son into my confidence, that he might not have occasion to make claims and pester us about an additional sum; but I have made special provisions in the second (?) about the youngest alone, directing that the appropriate share be given to her, but making no mention in it of an additional sum, so that the division may take place without the knowledge of anyone.' (Address.)

1 σχεδάρων (= σχεδάρων): cf. P. Princeton 96, introd.

With the supplement, cf. P. Par. 20, 15 seq.: ἐδέησαν γενέσθαι μεταξύ αὐτῶν τὴν παροῦσαν διάλυσιν.

2 κορασιῶν: see P. Oslo 140, note on l. 1; here used of free girls.

Perhaps ἐπι[στέλλω] (or sim.) σοι πρὸς τό[ν].

3 ἐκ[άστ]ῃ: somewhat doubtful; see textual note.

4 τῆς μείζονος: contrast μείζοτέρας in 10, 14.

πρόσοδον, added above, probably as an afterthought, a preferred synonym for προσθήκην, which has not, however, been deleted.

5 seq. ἡ δὲ . . . οὐδέν: a rather summary way of saying that she was not expressly left anything analogous to the bequests made to the others.

6 περὶ: perhaps cf. N.T. uses such as Act. A post. i 3: λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

7 Πατρικίας: perhaps the name of the youngest sister; the sudden introduction of it at this point, when none of the other parties has been named, is disconcerting; but the text is not a formal document, but a note to one who is expected to know the people concerned. Note that πατρικῆς (sc. οὐσίας) cannot be read.

ἴστε: with ἵνα, imperative for subjunctive.

9 ἐν μὲν μανδᾶ[τον], governed by ἐποίησα in l. 8? If so, what follows is an anacolouthon. Or ἐν[ὲ] μὲν μανδᾶ[τω]?

14 οὐ συνείδον . . . εἶδεν: 'I did not share my knowledge with', 'take into my confidence'.

MINOR DOCUMENTS

2417. 13.7 × 25 cm. A.D. 286 (year 3 and 2 of Diocletian and Maximian). Beginnings of twenty lines in a practised upright hand. Memoranda of proceedings of the Senate. The election (ll. 2(?), 20) of magistrates ([γυμνασίαρ-] / χοι?, ll. 12 seq.) is perhaps recorded. For the acclamations of the senators, see note on **2407**, rt. 3, 11 seq., and compare generally, beside that text, **41** and **1412** seqq. The only thing worthy of special remark is τὸ ἀναχωρητικὸν in l. 15; its meaning in the fragmentary context is obscure.

¹ καὶ ἐπεστάλη Διονυσίω κα[] Ε[] ² α() (ἀντίγραφον)? τῆς αἰρο[υμένης?]
³ ἔτους γ (ἔτους) καὶ ἔτους β (ἔτους) Ἄθῶν [] γενο- ⁴ μένου ὑπομνηματογρά-
 φο[υ (ὑπ.)] ⁵ ὁ πρύτανης εἶπ(εν)· ἔπεστι αὐσ[] ⁶ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μου διαση-
 μοτάτου] ⁷ οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐφώνησαν· μετὰ τὴν ⁸ ἀνάγνωσιν οἱ βουλευταὶ
 [ἐφώνησαν·] ⁹ [..]νωγ[.]η[...].νε[] ¹⁰ γενομένων [] τοῦ ¹¹ κυρίου
 μου λαμπ[ρο]τάτο[υ] οἱ βουλευταὶ ¹² ἐφώνησαν· ὡκεαν[έ] - ¹³ χοι Διονύσιος
 ὁ καὶ Ἀπ[] ¹⁴ δης ὁ καὶ Διογένης [] ¹⁵ καὶ τὸ ἀναχωρητικὸν ¹⁶ τῆ
 βουλῆ ἐπ[ε]σ[ε]τι δ[] οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐφώνησαν· ¹⁷ ἀγνοὶ πιστοὶ Σερήνης [] ¹⁸ αὐτα
 [..]ε[.]οι δύο ὑπε[] ¹⁹ [.....]εων εὐτυχην.εγ.....[] ²⁰ τῶν.....τοι
 αἰρεθέντες

2418. 36 × 31 cm. Fifth or sixth century. A petition to an authority acting as τοποτηρητής to 'the regions of Arcadia' to take action, through a councillor, in respect of an inheritance which the brother and sister of the petitioner (whose name is lost) refuse to share with him. Written along the fibres in a large upright hand on papyrus of poor quality; a strip lost from the left side. On the verso, remains, mostly illegible, of an agricultural list or account in thirteen lines.

¹ [.....].τικῶ τοποτηροῦντι τὰ μέρη ἐπαρχίας [Ἀ]ρκαδίας ² [παρὰ
 ἀπὸ τῆς σεμνῆς πολ(ιτικ)ῆς(?) τάξεως. ³ [οἱ ἀδελφοὶ μου Ἰω]σηφ καὶ Θεοδότῃ ἐν
 τῷ αὐτοῦ[ς] ἐπιλελήθεσθα[ι (sic) φιλιάν ἀ]δελφικὴν νομί- ⁴ [ζουσιν ἑαυτοῖς] μόνους τὰ
 γονικὰ πράγματα παρὰ τῆ[ς] μητρὸς ἔξεν, καὶ ἐγ[]κρατεῖς γενό- ⁵ [μενοι τῶν πραγμ]ά-
 των, ἀπραγμόνως οὐ βούλομαι τ[οῦ] μέρου[ς] μου τῆς μ[η]τρῶας περιουσίας ⁶ [ἀπο-
 στήναι(?), τὴν τῶν ἐγ]γράφως καταλιθθέντων μοι π[α]ρ[ά] τῆς μητρ[ό]ς πραγμάτω[ν]
⁷ [μεχρὶ τοῦδε(?) σφε]τεριζόμενοι προστασίαν. τούτου χάριν πρόσεμι τῆ σῆ ἐξουσία
⁸ [ἀξιώων αὐτὴν διὰ Θ]έωνος(?) τοῦ α[ι]δ[ε]σ[ε]μ[ο]υ πολυτενομέ[ν]ου καταναγκάζεσθαι
 τούτους καὶ τὸ ⁹ [.....].ο[.].[.....]ερ[.]. τῶν δωρηθε[ν]των μο[ι] ἐγγρ[ά]φ[ω]ς

παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς[ς] μο[υ] ¹⁰ [ὅπως χάριτας ὁ]μολογήσ[ω τ]ῆ σῆ ἐξουσί[α], καθ[α]ρώ-
 τ[ατε] κύριε. ¹¹ []...ε (in a flourishing cursive; perhaps the date.)

¹], τικῶ: first letter after lacuna α or ω; title (as ὑπατικῶ, πραγματικῶ), or proper name.

² πολ(ιτικ)ῆς(?): expansion doubtful; what is here taken as sign of abbreviation is like supra-
 linear υ. Cf., perhaps, P. Cairo Masp. 67019, 2 seq. (6th cent.): ὑπὸ τὴν ἐ[πι]χώριον σεμνὴν πολ[ι]τικὴν
 τάξιν; where, however, another reading is suggested by Bell (on P. Lond. 1710, 16) which would not
 help here.

⁵ ἀπραγμόνως: 'without litigation', to be taken with the words which follow?

⁷ Cf. BGU 195, 17: ἀπὸ τοῦ η (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρος [τοῦ κ]υρίου [μ]εχρὶ τοῦδε[ε] σφετερίζοντα[ι]
 (sic) τολησαντες, κτλ.; σφετερίζειν also in P. Mich. iii 175, 15 (A.D. 193).

2419. 51.2 × 17 cm. Declaration; sixth century. Written in a bold sloping hand, along the fibres; the papyrus is of fine quality. No line can be completed, and it is uncertain how much of the left-hand portion has been lost; the column must have been very wide. About fifteen letters more have been lost on the left of lines 6-10 than of 1-5. There are no traces of a preceding line above l. 1, the first part of which seems to have been left blank; so it seems that the document does not begin, as we should expect, with the name and titles of the writer (probably a *defensor*, see B. R. Rees, 'The *Defensor Civitatis* in Egypt', *JJP* vi, pp. 92 seqq.) and those of the addressee. It is evidently an *ἐπισφράγισμα*, a type of document for which see the editors' introduction and commentary to **1882**. The nature of the case seems indicated by the statement in ll. 5 seqq. Here a witness apparently states that he accompanied someone, presumably the accused party, at a late hour as far as the convent of Ama Juliana. The accused was admitted, and with the collusion of certain of the inmates conveyed out a piece of the convent's silver plate, which was broken up and disposed of to a silversmith, who made spoons of it. The chief problem is presented by ἡρωτήθη in l. 4, which might suggest that the witness under examination is ὁ αὐτὸς Μηνᾶς who is here described as a σύμμαχος τῆς ἐκδικίας and is probably the same as the δημόσιος ταβο(υ)λάριος of the preceding line. But a person so described is much more likely to have been the interrogator, acting for the prosecution; so we should perhaps take ἡρωτήθη as a mistake for ἡρώτησεν.

¹ [] (blank) [] κα[]τὰ τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν ἣτις ἐστὶν τριακὰς τοῦ παρόντος μηνὸς
 Μεσ[ο]ρῆ τῆς .. ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)] ² [ἐπὶ τῆς παρουσίας]οψου τοῦ εὐλα-
 βεστ(άτου) ἐκκλησιαεδικίου καὶ Σερήνου τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου πρεσβυτέρου τῆς ἁγίας
 Θέκλας καὶ Πραοῦτος τοῦ θαυμασ(ιωτάτου) ³ [καὶ] τοῦ εὐλα[β]εστ(άτου) πρεσβυτέρου
 καὶ οἰκονόμου τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας μετὰ Ἱερακίωνος ἀκολουθο(υ)ντος καὶ Μηνᾶ
 τοῦ δημοσίου ταβο(υ)λαρ(ίου) ⁴ [ἡ]ρωτήθη (l. ἡρώτησεν?) ὁ αὐτὸς Μηνᾶς, ἐπειδὴ σύμ-
 μαχος ἦν τῆς ἐκδικίας, διὰ τί φεύγει; καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι· διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν Ἀναστασίου τοῦ
 πρωξίμου ⁵ [] .ιοιδες (l. -ειδες? doubtful letter γ, λ, μ, ρ, σ, or τ) εἶπε μετὰ ἀληθείας·
 καὶ ὄμοσεν (l. ὠμοσεν) κατὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου τούτου, ὅτι· μὰ τὰ ἅγια

μυστήρια, τὸ ἀληθές ⁶ [λέγω· συν]γενάμην (l. -όμην) αὐτῷ ἀπερχομένῳ ἐν ἐσπεριναῖς ὥραις εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον Ἄμα Ἰουλιανῆς (Ἰουλιανῆς)· καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔλεγεν ⁷ []ου ταῦτα ποιῶντος· ἦν δὲ βράδιον πάνυ ὅτε ἀπήρχετο, καὶ προέπεμπον αὐτὸν ἕως τῆς θύρας τοῦ ⁸ [μοναστηρίου ἀ]μεωγμένον, καὶ εἰσῆρχετο, καὶ ἐκλείετο ἡ θύρα ὑπὸ τῆς θυρουροῦ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀπεχώρουν· ἔπεμψεν δὲ αὐτῷ ⁹ []επεινοικε.ω διὰ []ννης τῆς πλυ(ν)τρίας πατελλίκιν (l. -κιον) ἀργύραιον (l. ἀργύρεον) κάτω εἰς τὴν θήκην αὐτοῦ, λέγουσα ὅτι· ¹⁰ [ἀργυραῖο[...].]ωσ πατελλ[ικι.] κεκλασμέ[ν.] καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἀπεδόθη τῷ ἀργυροκόπῳ, καὶ ἐποίησεν κοχλι- ¹¹ [άρια]·κ[c. 9 ll.].[c. 8 ll.]...οιγ[c. 4 ll.] οικ...σ.....την κ..... (Rest lost.)

The following details may be noted: in l. 2 the title ἐκκλησιέδικος occurs for the first time in the papyri; the Church of ἁγία Θέκλα is mentioned in 1993, 20 (A.D. 587); in 5 ἁγίου is perhaps a mistake for ἁγίας (sc. Θέκλας), see 2, above; in 8, perhaps understand '... and we found (the convent, or some part of it) open'; in 9 the principal verb will have been in the lacuna, 'conveyed (or sim.) through Anna the washerwoman'; πατελλί(ο)ν in 10 confirms the separate existence of a variant of πατελλίδιον, cited by LSJ under the latter word.

2420. 39.3 × 32 cm. Deed of surety, from the Apion archive; dated 610. Justus, *chartularius*, becomes surety to two goldsmiths, Aurelius(?) Papnuthius and A.(?) Arothius. The remains of the last two lines of a protocol in perpendicular writing and in purplish-brown ink run at right angles to the deed on the left; though mostly illegible, as usual, they may add a little to our knowledge of this old problem, since the letters or signs which begin and end them are evidently the same as those in the corresponding places in the second and third lines of more degenerate perpendicular writing in the protocols of the Arab period. The first begins with what appears to be a letter, perhaps H, in a perfect circle, which makes doubtful the supposition that it was originally Δ(ΙΑ);¹ at the end, an upright stroke and the abbreviation sign ∫; the last line begins with ΤΩ, followed probably by Ν; at the end, ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΙΙΕ. No month-name can be distinguished before this.

The lacunae of the deed itself can mostly be supplied from similar Oxyrhynchite deeds, such as 135, 996, 1979, 2203; PSI 52, 59, 61, 62, 180; Merton 98; Lond. 778. L. 19 contains an unusual provision; the last word may be παραστάσεως. The subscription of Justus is restored on the analogy of 1892 (A.D. 581), ll. 38 seqq., a loan of money on security. On the verso, below the address, in a different hand and in different ink, mostly effaced and illegible remains of a text in shorthand.

¹ + Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης Ἰησοῦ (Ἰησ.) Χριστοῦ τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν, βασιλείας τοῦ] ² θεοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης μ[εγίστου] εὐερ-

¹ Cf. l. 3 in the protocol published in Budge, *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, (Brit. Mus. 1910), frontispiece, a more complete example in similar writing, beginning + Φλ(αουίου) Βικ(τοπος) . . .; the ω read in the last line here is found there also. On protocols in general, see Bataille, *Traité d'études byzantines*, ii: *Les Papyrus*, pp. 55 seq., and refs. given there.

γέτου Φλ(αουίου) Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνί-³ [ου αἰγούστου] καὶ αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους α Φαμεν[ῶθ' ἰνδ(ικτ.) ἰδ c. 30 ll.] ⁴ Φλαουίῳ Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑ[πε]ρ-φυεστ[άτω] ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίῳ γεουχοῦντι ⁵ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρ(οτάτῃ) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλ(ει) διὰ Ῥουφ[υίου μητρός] ⁶ ἀντιγεούχου παρόντος Μηνα οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντ[ος] καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ⁷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τῆν [ἀγαγῆν καὶ ἐνοχῆν, Ἰουστός ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος)] ⁸ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) ὑμῶν οἴκον, υἱὸς τοῦ μ[ακ]αρίου Θεοδώρου ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ⁹ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ὁμολογῶ ἔκουσία γνώμη καὶ αὐθαίρετῳ προαιρέσει ¹⁰ ὑπομύμενος τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβ[ά]σμιον ἕρκον ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι [παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν] ¹¹ ἐνδόξω (l. ἐνδόξου) ὑπεροχῆς Ἀβρηλ[ίου]ς Παπνούθιον υἱὸν Πα.νο.ιου .ε.ν.ε. καὶ Ἀρώθιο[ν υἱὸν] . . . [. . . ¹² ἀμφότεροι χρυ[σο]χῶοι ὀρμώ[μενο]ι (l. ἀμφοτέρους χρυσοχόους ὀρμωμένους) ἀπὸ κώμη[ς] Σερούφως τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχιτοῦ νομοῦ σα. . . [¹³ παρὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν [οἴ]κ[ο]υ, εἴ]φ' ὧτε αὐτοὺς ἀδιωλείπτως παραμεῖναι καὶ διαίρειν ¹⁴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ καὶ μηδαμῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπολειπᾶσθαι μήτε μὴν μεθίστασθαι ¹⁵ εἰς ἕτερον τόπον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιζητοῦμ(ένους) αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐν οἰαδῆποτε ἡμ[ε]ρ[α] οἰα]σ- ¹⁶ δημοτοῦν εἴ[ν]εκεν προφάσεως τούτους παραφέρω καὶ παραδώσω [δί]χ[α] λ[ό]γο[υ] ¹⁷ ἔρθα αὐτοὺς καὶ παρείληφα ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκον· εἴ] δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ¹⁸ π[ο]ιήσω, ὁμολογῶ παρασχέιν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἐνδόξῳ ὑ[πε]ροχῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπολ[ε]ψ[ε]ως ¹⁹ χρυσοῦ [λ]ίτραν μίαν εἵσταθμ(ον) ζυγῶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) καὶ . . . ν. [.] στασεως. ²⁰ κυρ(ία) ἡ ἐγγύη] ἀπλή γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερωτ(ηθεῖς) ὁμολόγη(ησα). (2nd h.) Ἰουστός [σ] λαμπρ(ότατος) χαρτ[ο]υ[λ]α[ρ]ί[ο]ς πεποιήμαι ταύτην τὴν ἐγγύην ²¹ τῶν [προ]γε[γρα]μμέ(νων) Παπνούθιο[υ] καὶ Ἀροθίο[υ] κατὰ τὴν ἀνωτέραν ὁμολ(όγησιν) καὶ [συμφ(ωνεῖ) μοι πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ὡς πρόκ(εintai)]. ²² ✠ αἰ' ἐπι Ιοανν[ι] eteliouthē + Verso: ²³ + ἐγγ(ύη) Ἰούστου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) χαρτ[ο]υ[λ]α[ρ]ί[ο]ς υἱοῦ τοῦ μακαρ(ίου) Θεοδώρου ²⁴ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχι(τῶν) πόλ(εως) ἀναδεχ[ο]μένου Παπνούθιον καὶ Ἀρώθιον ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) ²⁵ Σερούφως τ[ο]υ Ὀξυρυγχιτοῦ υἱομοῦ.]

2421. Verso of 2422; written across the fibres. Early fourth century. Account probably, according to Skeat, of payments in kind—wheat (σίτος, cf. P. Tebt. 404 (third century)) and barley—in three columns; ends of lines of the third lost. The names are followed generally by amounts in wheat and barley, and these in each case by a sum evidently representing the price of the latter. Xenicus son of Troilus in 12 is identical with the Xenicus of 1413 (A.D. 270/5), whose father's name is seen from 1496 (273/4 or 279/80) to be Troilus. Several other names in our list are also found in 1413, 1496, and the related texts 1414 (270/5) and 1497 (c. 279): Philosophus, Agathos Daimon, Secundus, Horion, Besarion; the Septimia Serena of 69 is perhaps

related to the Septimius Serenus also called Ischyrius, exegete, of 1413. These four documents, however, evidently belong to a generation earlier than the present text, the date of which is indicated by the prices of wheat and barley, c. 984 and c. 656 denarii per artaba respectively—the latter being two-thirds of the former—which show that the enormous inflation of prices known to have taken place in the early years of the fourth century (see Johnson, *Egypt and the Roman Empire*, p. 58) is already well advanced.

i

¹ Πτολεμαῖς θυγάτηρ Εὐδ[α]ίμονος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' (δην.) λπβ. ² κλη(ρονόμοι) Ασάμω-
νος ἀλιεύς (l. ἀλιέως) σίτ(ου) [(ἀρτ.) αδ'] (δην.) ἀρν. ³ Πυρήφιδι Διοδώρου κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.)
γς' (τάλ.) α (δην.) φν. ⁴ Μαξιμάς Τίμωνος σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) κδ̄ (δην.) πβ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.)
ς' γ' κδ̄ (δην.) φοβ ⁵ Ονής στεφανοπλόκος σίτ(ου) (sic) (δην.) σμγ κριθ(ῆς) (τάλ.) γ (δην.)
χλγ. ⁶ Παωῦτις Πολυδεύκου σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) κδ̄ (δην.) μα κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) βιβ̄ (δην.)
ἀτξε. ⁷ Σιλβανὸς κηρωματικὸς σίτου (ἀρτ.) [] (δην.) ἀτν. ⁸ Ατοῦς γυνή Αγίωνος
προθμαρίον (l. πορθμαρίου) σίτ(ου) γ' ιβ̄ (δην.) υθ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) β (δην.) ἀτι. ⁹ Σοφία
Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμωνος (l. -μονος) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) αδ' κδ̄ (δην.) ωγ. ¹⁰ Ωρος ἀναγνωστῆς
κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ς' κδ̄ (δην.) τνε. ¹¹ Σαραπίων ἱατρὸς κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' (δην.) ψξε.
¹² Ξ[ε]γκικός Τροίλου (l. Τρωίλου) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ιβ̄ (δην.) πβ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' γ' (δην.)
ἀσ. ¹³ [Θε]ρμούτιον καὶ Σύρα καὶ Μάζα(ς?) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) γ' κδ̄ (δην.) το κρ(ι)θ(ῆς)
(ἀρτ.) ας' γ' (δην.) ἀσ. ¹⁴ Θαῆσις γυνή Ἀφυγχίου Πεβᾶτ[ο]ς κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) δ' (δην.)
ρξδ. ¹⁵ Αγία Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμωνος σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ιβ̄ (δην.) πβ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) α ιβ̄ (δην.)
ψι. ¹⁶ Θα(υ)βάριον Σαραπάμωνος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) γ' κδ̄ (δην.) σν. ¹⁷ κλη(ρονόμοι)
Νίκωνος ἱερέυς (l. ἱερέως) ¹⁸ [.]μ[.]·ονιον θυγάτηρ Ἡράμμωνος σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) γ' ιβ̄
(δην.) υ[ι] κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ς' ιβ̄ (δην.) τπβ. ¹⁹ κλη(ρονόμοι) Δί[ο]υ Κωμαστοῦ σίτ(ου)
(ἀρτ.) ς' (δην.) υσα κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) α ιβ̄ (δην.) ψι. ²⁰ [.]μ[.]·[.] θυγάτηρ Μέλανος Θήβειος
(l. Θήβειος) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ς' (δην.) τκη. ²¹ [.....]λευς κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ι' β' (δην.) νε.
²² [.....]·υ ἱερεὺς ²³ [.....]τος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' (δην.) λπγ. ²⁴ [.....
.....] Κυρίλλου γυνή Πεκαῦ σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) α' ς' κδ̄ (τάλ.) α ιδ (sic) κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) []

ii

²⁵ Εἰρήνη Πανσιρίωνος ²⁶ Ἡρακλᾶς πραγματευτῆς Θεωνίλλης σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) γῆ (τάλ.) β
(δην.) ο. ²⁷ Ἐκαπλᾶς Σεουήρου σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ς' κδ̄ (δην.) σς κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ς' κδ̄
(δην.) ρμ. ²⁸ Ἀρθῶνις δι(ὰ) Ἀπολλωνίας σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ς' ῆ (δην.) χ[ι]δ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ῆ
(δην.) πβ. ²⁹ Ἀμοιᾶς Πατερμουτίου κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) αγ' (δην.) φνε. ³⁰ Διόδωρος
Σαραποδώρου σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ῆ (δην.) ρκε κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ς' κδ̄ (δην.) τνε. ³¹ Τερεῦς
ἀλέτισσα ³² Δίδυμος Διοσκόρου φλουμάρης σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ι' β' (δην.) πβ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς)

(ἀρτ.) αελ (δην.) ἀρμζ. ³³ Δημητρία Κάστωρος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) α (δην.) χρ[ς]. ³⁴ Εὐπο-
ρίων λιγύμφος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ακδ̄ (δην.) χπβ. ³⁵ κλη(ρονόμοι) Σεουήρου ο[ι]κοδόμου
σ(ι)τ(ου) (ἀρτ.) γ' κ' δ' (δην.) το κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ς' (δην.) ρι. ³⁶ Διδύμη 'θυγάτηρ'
Καλλιστράτου κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ς' κδ̄ (δην.) ρμ. ³⁷ Πτολεμαῖος ἱερεὺς Ἐρμού κρ(ι)θ(ῆς)
(ἀρτ.) ς' κδ̄ (δην.) τνε. ³⁸ Θάις Νικάνορος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) βκδ̄ (δην.) ἀτμ. ³⁹ Σαρμάτης
'Ωρίωνος δι(ὰ) Γούνθου κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ς' (δην.) τ[.]η. ⁴⁰ κλη(ρονόμοι) Σώτου Φιλο-
σόφου σ(ι)τ(ου) θς' (τάλ.) ς (δην.) τκθ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) δ (τάλ.) α (δην.) ἀρκ. ⁴¹ Θεω-
νίνος Ἀρχιβίου σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) κδ̄ (δην.) μα κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) δ' (δην.) ρξδ. ⁴² Σίφαρος
'καὶ' Πατερμουτίου (l. -τιος) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ς' (δην.) ρι. ⁴³ Διονύσιος πραγματευτῆς
'Ιρήνης (l. Εἰρήνης) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ς' γ' ῆ (δην.) λμβ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) γ' κδ̄ (δην.) σν.
⁴⁴ Τααμίος Θεώνος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' (δην.) ψξδ. ⁴⁵ κλη(ρονόμοι) Θωνίω (l. -νίου)
Νικάνορος ἱερέυς (l. ἱερέως) ⁴⁶ Πτολεμαῖς καὶ Ἀχιλλεύς ⁴⁷ κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀφροδι()
βάφισσα (l. -σσης) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ας' κδ̄ (δην.) ἀργ [κρ(ι)θ(ῆς)] (ἀρτ.) ς' (δην.) τκη.
⁴⁸ Σαραπίων γραμματοδιδάσκαλος σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ιβ̄ (δην.) πβ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) α
(δην.) τνε. ⁴⁹ Ἀντίνοος Διδύμου λαχανᾶς κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ς' γ' κδ̄ (δην.) σ[οε].

iii

⁵⁰ κλη(ρονόμοι) Δημητρίου Ἀρχελάου κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) . [⁵¹ Ἀπολλώνιος Σεκούντου
(l. -δου) κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) [(ἀρτ.) ⁵² Πατερμουτίς [Πα]ονυσίου κριθ(ῆς) [(ἀρτ.) ⁵³ δι(ὰ)
Δωροθέου υἱοῦ Βησαρίωνος] ⁵⁴ Ὠρίων Διδύμου σίτου (ἀρτ.) ς' . [⁵⁵ Ἄλλοις θυγά(τηρ)
Δημητρίου κεραμέυς (l. -μέως) [⁵⁶ Θεοδώρα γυνή) Ἀμωνίου πραγματευτοῦ) Φιλ.[
⁵⁷ [Α]πολινώριον Σαραπάμμωνος [⁵⁸ Φιλοσαρᾶπις Πατερμουτίου κρ[ι]θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.)
⁵⁹ κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀμοῖς (l. -ιτος) βαφέυς (l. -έως) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) . [⁶⁰ Τ[α]εμμίας
Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Κεφαλ[⁶¹ . . ρις Θεώνιος καὶ Διόσκορος Ν[⁶² Θεών ἐκδοχεύς ⁶³ Κο-
ματίλλα Θεώνος γυνή) 'Ολυμπι[⁶⁴ Ἡραῖς Διογένους μητρός Διοσκορ[⁶⁵ Σαραπίων
Πέτρωνος [⁶⁶ κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἐρμίνου ναυτικοῦ [⁶⁷ Παᾶπις Ἡράτος [⁶⁸ κλη-
(ρονόμοι) Πατερμουτίου διφθεραρίου [⁶⁹ Σεπτίμια Σερήνα [⁷⁰ κλη(ρονόμοι)
Ἀπολλωνίας Ἀμωναροῦτ[ρ]ς ⁷¹ Ἰσίδωρος ἐγγυς οἰκία Κορηγλία[ς ⁷² κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἄνινου
ιατροῦ [⁷³ Ἡρακλίδης γαμβρός (l. -κλείδης γαμβρός) Ἀλεξάνδρου [⁷⁴ Σαραπίων
Πατερμουτίου μάγει[ρ]ος ⁷⁵ Ἀμυντιανὸς υἱὸς Γεμέλλου []

³ κδ̄ apparently omitted after ς'.

⁷ κηρωματικός: cf. 43, vs. iii 21 (3rd/4th cent.); PSI 805, 4 (4th cent.).

⁸ προθμαρίον: cf. PSI 1259, 4 (2nd/3rd cent.), spelt as here; sim., P. Ryl. 594, 4; see editors' note ad loc., and note on P. Mert. 42, 4, for this and other spellings of this and related words.

¹⁰ ἀναγνωστῆς: 'reader', of documents to the illiterate; so SB. 7338, i 15 (A.D. 300); P. Groning. 9, 25 (4th cent.).

13 *Máλα(ς?)*: see 1069, a letter to a woman from her 'brother' Troilus. Hunt's reading of her name as *Máz* has been corrected by Crawford, introd. to P. Fouad Crawford, vi, another letter between the same two people, to *Μαζάτ(ε)ι* (dative).

26 *πραγματευτής*: see *JE A* xviii 16 seq.

31 *ἀλέττισα*: fem. of *ἀλέτης*; *add. lex.* Another fem. form *ἀλετρις* in PSI 838, 8 (5th cent.).

32 *φλουμάρης*: a new form of *plumarius*.

48 *τνε*: read *χ* for *τ*.

49 *λαχανᾶς*: see LSJ, s.v.; same word evidently in P. Bad. iv 95, xii 264 (7th cent.).

2422. 43 × 22 cm. A.D. 290. Account of beef and pork, no doubt as requisitions for military provisions, like 1545 and perhaps 1513 (both fourth century). See Boak, *Byzantium* xvii 27. The entries are arranged by villages, and the latter under the six Oxyrhynchite toparchies; a column containing most of the entries from the Upper toparchy has been lost from the beginning, together with any heading there may have been, which might have elucidated some details now obscure; for instance, the period covered by the exactions. The quantities, expressed in talents (Ⲡ) and minae (μ, μ̄) are not round sums, which suggests that they are weights actually collected; the sum of the quantities from the individual villages is given at the end of each toparchy list and the document ends with grand totals; the sum of the quantities of beef from the six toparchies is said to be *ἀντί*, 'instead of' (= equivalent to) two-thirds of that weight of pork.¹ The result of this conversion is added to the amount of pork actually collected, to make a final total in terms of pork. The calculations, so far as they can be checked, are all accurate. Two features of the document remain unexplained. In nearly every entry *μοσχ(είου)* or *χοιρ(είου)* is followed either by a numeral, varying roughly according to the final figure, and proportionately higher in the pork entries than in those for beef, or by a word probably to be read and expanded as *ἐκγί(νεται)*; both this and the numerals are in many cases evidently added later, but apparently by the same hand, either above the line or in a space left for the purpose. For the figures it might be suggested (1) that they represent numbers of beasts; the higher numbers in the pork entries being accounted for by the fact that the pig is smaller than the ox; but the weights cannot represent whole carcasses; (2) that they represent days, cf. 1545; (3) that there might be a theoretical *annonna* of standard quantity, and that the first figure might represent the units due, the second the actual weight collected. But if so, there are very great discrepancies in the standard, and why should the weights of pork collected be so much below it? *ἐκγί(νεται?)* also is obscure. It is generally accompanied by a note, usually marginal but twice inserted in the text, which looks like the figure ιζ (the ι is twice replaced by another sign); but if so, the hand in which these, and presumably the other marginal comments, are made is different from the original, since the ζ of the latter has a different form. Other subsequently added (generally marginal) marks are equally obscure; a sign // twice pre-

¹ The edict of Diocletian *De pretiis rerum venalium* (§ 4, 8a) made beef two-thirds the price of pork.

cedes a figure which subtracted from the final figure produces a round sum; it may thus represent an excess (cf. 2129, 35); another sign Λ' may similarly represent a deficit, since it precedes figures which in most cases produce round sums when added to the final sum. Other symbols or abbreviations are found whose meanings or expansions are doubtful or unknown.

Written along the fibres; on the verso, 2421.

i

¹ *Νεσμείμ[ε]ως μοσχ(είου) ε' (τάλ.) δ μ(να)ι. κ' ² Λ'κα' χ[οιρ(είου) ..]' (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. μθ ³ γ(ίν.) μ[οσχ(είου)] (τάλ.) λγ μ(να)ι. με' ⁴ χο[ιρ(είου)] (τάλ.) κα μ(να)ι. κζ'. ⁵ *Λιβός τοπαρχ(ίας)*. ⁶ / *Σέρυφews μοσχ(είου) 'β'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. μ ⁷ *χοιρ(είου) ιη'* (τάλ.) δ μ(να)ι. μζ' ⁸ / *ιζ Πανεύει μοσχ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. κ ⁹ / *Σύρων μοσχ(είου) β'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. [] ¹⁰ *χοιρ(είου) [.]* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. [λθ] ¹¹ *Σενοκώμews μοσχ(είου) 'ά'* (τάλ.) β' ¹² *χοιρ(είου) ι'* (τάλ.) γ μ(να)ι. λζ' ¹³ / *ιζ Λευκί[ου] μοσχ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* (τάλ.) ζ μ(να)ι. [..] ¹⁴ *Λ'κδ' Κερκεθύρews μοσχ(είου) 'ά'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. ις ¹⁵ / *ιζ χοιρ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* (τάλ.) β' ¹⁶ / *ιζ Παείμews χοιρ(είου) 'ἐκγί(ν.?)'* (τάλ.) α' ¹⁷ / *ιζ 'Ηρακλειδ(ου) ἐποικ(ίου) μοσχ(είου) 'ἐκγί(ν.?)'* μ(να)ι. κγ ¹⁸ / *ιζ χοιρ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?) μν(αι.) λ'* ¹⁹ / *Πέλα μοσχ(είου) α' μν(αι.) ν'* ²⁰ *χοιρ(είου) ιζ'* (τάλ.) γ μ(να)ι. *ς'* ²¹ / *ιζ Σεναῶ μοσχ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?) μ(να)ι. νβ'* ²² *ι' α' Μουχινάξαπ (Μουχινάξαπ') χοιρ(είου) α' μ(να)ι. ιθ'* ²³ *γ(ίν.) μοσχ(είου) (τάλ.) ιζ μ(να)ι. δ'* ²⁴ *χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ις μ(να)ι. νη'**

ii

²⁵ *Ἀπηλιώ(του) τοπαρχ(ίας)*. ²⁶ / *Τερύθews χοιρ(είου) ... (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. λς'* ²⁷ / *ιζ Ἀδαίρου μοσχ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* (τάλ.) β μ(να)ι. *ς'* ²⁸ / *Λ'ις' Φθώχews μοσχ(είου) α' μ(να)ι. νδ'* ²⁹ / *Σατύρου μοσχ(είου) α' μ(να)ι. μ'* ³⁰ / *Λ'κς' Θμίονεψώβθ(εως) μοσχ(είου) 'ά'* μ(να)ι. κδ' ³¹ *χοιρ(είου) δ'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. λ ³² / *Πακερκή μοσχ(είου) 'ά'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. μ' ³³ *χοιρ(είου) .'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. ιε' ³⁴ / *Ψώβθews [μοσχ(είου) (τάλ.) γ μ(να)ι. ς'* ³⁵ *χοιρ(είου) [.]* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. ιη ³⁶ / *Τααμπεμοῦ μοσχ(είου) '.'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. μ' ³⁷ *χοιρ(είου) ιβ'* (τάλ.) β μ(να)ι. ιζ' ³⁸ / *Πισομποῦς μοσχ(είου) 'ά'* μ(να)ι. με' ³⁹ / *Φοβώου μοσχ(είου) δ'* (τάλ.) γ ⁴⁰ *χοιρ(είου) δ'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. ις' ⁴¹ / *ιζ 'Ωφews χοιρ(είου) 'ἐκγί(ν.?)'* (τάλ.) β' ⁴² / *Σαραπίω(νος) Χαιρή(μονος) μοσχ(είου) 'ά'* μ(να)ι. νε' ⁴³ *Λ'ις' χοιρ(είου) β' μν(αι.) λα'* ⁴⁴ *γ(ίν.) μοσχ(είου) τάλ. ις μ(να)ι. δ'* ⁴⁵ *χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ια μ(να)ι. μγ'* ⁴⁶ / *Μέσης τοπαρχ(ίας)*. *'Ιέμη (Ἰεμ.) χοιρ(είου) 'έ'* μ(να)ι. νθ ⁴⁷ / *Νόμου ἐποικ(ίου) μοσχ(είου) 'β'* (τάλ.) β' μ(να)ι. ν' ⁴⁸ *χοιρ(είου) η'* (τάλ.) β μ(να)ι. *ς'* ⁴⁹ / *ιζ Πέτνη μοσχ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. νβ'

iii

50 | *Ιστορο[υ] (Ιστρ.) μοσχ(είου) 'ά' μ(να)ι. με' 51 χοιρ(είου) ε' (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. ις'
 52 | Τανάεως μοσχ(είου) 'ά' (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. μ' 53 χοιρ(είου) θ' (τάλ.) β' μ(να)ι. γ'
 54 | Τααμπιτει μοσχ(είου) 'έ' (τάλ.) β' μ(να)ι. λ' 55 χοιρ(είου) η' (τάλ.) β μ(να)ι. κη'
 56 | ^{κε'}_{επ...} Κερκεύρων μοσχ(είου) 'ά' (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. λε' 57 | ÷ 4 . j. | Μαστιγγοφόρου
 (Μαστιγγ'οφορ()) χοιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. κζ' 58 | ÷ 4 . η . | Πεεσνω χοιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. ιζ'
 59 | ... | Ψώβθεως [χ]οιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. λ' 60 | Σεντώ χοιρ(είου) '42' μ(να)ι. κζ'
 61 | (ὕπερ?)...ε' | Πετενούρεως [χ]οιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. ε' 62 | Άρταπάτου [χ]οιρ(είου) 'β'
 μ(να)ι. κά 63 | (ὕπερ?)... Σενο[π]ώθ[εω]ς χ[ο]ιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. κθ' 64 | ΙΖ Τεξεει χοιρ-
 ρ(είου) [έ]κγί(ν.) μ(να)ι. ιγ' 65 | Πλελώ χοιρ(είου) έκγί(ν.?) μ(να)ι. ιε' 66 | ΙΖ Τόκα
 μοσχ(είου) έκγί(ν.?) μ(να)ι. μδ 67 | ΙΖ τὸ 'Ηρακλείον μοσχ(είου) έκγί(ν.) (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι.
 κα' 68 ^{(ὕπερ?) ἡμ(έρας?)}_{λ.} Τρακολκείλεως χοιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. μς' 69 γ(ίν.) μοσχ(είου)
 γί(ν.?) ις'
 (τάλ.) ιγ μ(να)ι. ιζ' 70 χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ιβ μ(να)ι. μβς' 71 Θμοισεφώ τοπαρχίας. 72 |
 Τήεως μοσχ(είου) δ' (τάλ.) γ μ(να)ι. ν' 73 χοιρ(είου) ιδ' (τάλ.) δ μ(να)ι. κζ'

iv

74 | ΙΖ Παώμεως μοσχ(είου) έκγί(ν.?) (τάλ.) α' (μνα)ι. λβ' 75 χοιρ(είου) έκγί(ν.?) ΙΖ
 (τάλ.) β' 76 ΙΖ Θώλθεως μοσχ(είου) έκγί(ν.?) μ(να)ι. κδ 77 [χ]οιρ(είου) ..λη μ(να)ι. ς'
 78 | Σεφώ μοσχ(είου) α' μ(να)ι. ν' 79 ΙΖ Κεσμούχεως μοσχ(είου) 'έκγί(ν.?)' μ(να)ι. μβ'
 80 γ(ίν.) μοσχ(είου) (τάλ.) ζ μ(να)ι. ιη' 81 χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ς μ(να)ι. λγς' 82 Κάτω
 τοπαρχίας. 83 | ΙΖ Ταλαώ χοιρ(είου) έκγί(ν.?) (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. λε' 84 | Θώλθεως μο-
 σχ(είου) 'β' (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. λ' 85 χοιρ(είου) α' μ(να)ι. θ 86 | Μουχινταλή χοιρ(είου) 'γ'
 μ(να)ι. νζ' 87 | Τυχινφάγων μοσχ(είου) 'ά' μ(να)ι. ν' 88 χοιρ(είου) γ' μ(να)ι. να'
 89 | ^κ_εΨώβθεως χοιρ(είου) δ' (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. ιε' 90 | Σέσφ[θ]α μοσχ(είου) β'
 (τάλ.) β' μ(να)ι. ιη' 91 [χ]οιρ(είου) ζ' (τάλ.) γ' 92 | Σιναρύ χοιρ(είου) δ' (τάλ.) α'
 93 | ^μ_β Δω[σιθ]έου μοσχ(είου) δ' (τάλ.) δ' μ(να)ι. νβ' 94 | ΙΖ? χοιρ(είου) έκγί(ν.?)
 ... μ(να)ι. λη' 95 | Τ[ακόνα] χοιρ(είου) η' (τάλ.) γ' μ(να)ι. λγ'

v

96 (ὕπερ?) ἡμ(έρας?) λγ Σούεως χοιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. νβ' 97 'Ιβιῶνος (Ιβ.) Άμμωνίου
 (ὕπερ?)...θ'
 98 χοιρ(είου) έκγί(ν.?) 42 (τάλ.) β μ(να)ι. ε' 99 γ(ίν.) μοσχ(είου) (τάλ.) θ' μ(να)ι. λ'
 100 χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ιε' μ(να)ι. νες' 101 (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ?) μοσχ(είου) (τάλ.) ςς μ(να)ι. νη'
 ἀντι 102 χοιρείου (ταλ.) ξδ' μ(να)ι. λθ' 103 χοιρείου ὁμοί(ως) (τάλ.) πε μ(να)ι. ιθς'

104 γ(ίν.) ὁμοῦ' χοιρείου (τάλ.) ρμθ [μ(να)ι.] γης' 105 ζ (έτους) καὶ ς (έτους) Χοιάκ κ' κα'
 106 χειρογραφία Χοιάκ κγ'.

μόσχεια κρέα occurs in PSI 862, 8 (from the Zeno archive); χοίρειον in P. Fouad Crawford, xv; PSI 820, 25; 28 (both 4th cent.); and Tait and Préaux, *Ostraca*, nos. 2034 seqq. With the spelling Μουχινάεα in 22, cf. PSI 739, 6 (2nd cent.).

2423. 36.5 × 21.5 cm. Second to third century. Recto written along, verso across the fibres; the quality of the papyrus is poor. Private accounts from Choiach 1st to 24th; headed on the recto 'account of receipts and expenditures', but the latter only are recorded. (Cf. P. Groning. 11 (second century); 2026 (sixth century), and editors' note there; P. Princet. 96, 31; 78; 80 seq. (sixth century) and introd. to the latter.) The total of each day's expenditures is given beneath; several columns have the sum of these totals added at the foot. Col. i of the verso begins with supplementary items for days previously recorded. The sums are often inaccurate. The first two columns of the recto are here given in full.

Recto i

¹ λό(γος) λημ(μάτων) κ(αί) ἀναλ(ωμάτων) ² τῶν ἀπὸ X[οι]ά[χ] ³ κρέως (δρ.) α (ὀβ.)
⁴ σελιγ(νίων) (δυόβ.) ⁵ ἀνῶν (ὀβ.) ⁶ κυαμί(ων) (ἡμωβ.) ⁷ 'Οασίτη (δυόβ.) ⁸ διατ(αγῆς)
 (δρ.) α ⁹ (δρ.) γ (ἡμωβ.) ¹⁰ β. κοινοῦ λό(γου) (δρ.) ι (τετρώβ.) ¹¹ σελιγ(νίων) (δρ.) β
 (δυόβ.) ¹² 'Οασίτη (δυόβ.) ¹³ διαταγ(ῆς) (δρ.) α ¹⁴ (δρ.) ι[...] ¹⁵ γ διατ(αγῆς) (δρ.) α
¹⁶ 'Οασίτη (δυόβ.) ¹⁷ (δρ.) α (δυόβ.) ¹⁸ δ κρέως (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ¹⁹ σελιγ(νίων) (δυόβ.)
²⁰ κλ.ω (δυόβ.) ²¹ κυαμί(ων) (ἡμωβ.) ²² 'Οασίτη (δυόβ.) ²³ διαταγ(ῆς) (δρ.) α ²⁴ λίνων
 (ὀβ.) ²⁵ (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) (ἡμωβ.) ²⁶ ε χάρτου (δρ.) α (δυόβ.) ²⁷ κρέως (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ²⁸ κα
 (τετρώβ.)

ii

¹ σελιγ(νίων) (δυόβ.) ² γα[π]ίου (ὀβ.) ³ κυαμί(ων) (ἡμωβ.) ⁴ 'Οασίτη (δυόβ.) ⁵ δια-
 ταγῆς (δρ.) α ⁶ (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) (ἡμωβ.) ⁷ [...] (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ⁸ [...] (δυόβ.)
⁹ σελιγ(νίων) (δυόβ.) ¹⁰ [...]κα (ὀβ.) ¹¹ 'Οασίτη (δυόβ.) ¹² κυαμί(ων) (ἡμωβ.) ¹³ δ[ια]-
 τ(αγῆς) (δρ.) α ¹⁴ [(δρ.)] γ (ὀβ.) (ἡμωβ.) ¹⁵ ζ διαταγ(ῆς) [(δρ.)] α ¹⁶ 'Οασίτη (δυόβ.)
¹⁷ (δρ.) α (δυόβ.) ¹⁸ οπ.νι () (δυόβ.) ¹⁹ διατ(αγῆς) (δρ.) α ²⁰ 'Οασίτη (δυόβ.) ²¹ (δρ.) α
 (τετρώβ.) ²² θ σελιγ(νίων) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ²³ κολοκύν(θης) (δυόβ.) ²⁴ θρίασα (ὀβ.) ²⁵ ράφα-
 νί(δων) (ὀβ.) ²⁶ φακίνων (δυόβ.) ²⁷ κυαμί(ων) (ἡμωβ.) ²⁸ 'Οασίτη (δυόβ.) ²⁹ διατ(αγῆς)
 (δρ.) α ³⁰ ζ. .ς

The recurring item 'Οασίτη presumably refers to a workman or merchant from the Oasis.

Other items of expenditure which occur in the remaining columns are: σεύτλου (or ζεύτλου), rt. iii 6, etc.; πλακο[ύντων], iii 8, etc.; ἀρτύμ(ατος) iii 9, etc.; βατέλλης (cf. P. Ryl. 630, 387) (1 ob.), iv 15; ψού (1½ ob.), iv 19, etc.; περιστερι(δίου), v 10, etc.; καπηλίου (2 ob.), v 17; σταφυλ(ῆς), v 21; μήλων, v 23;

INDEXES

(The figures 23 are to be supplied before 83-99, 24 before 00-25; figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman figures to columns; an asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon; square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture; a reference enclosed in round brackets indicates an interlinear comment.)

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

(a) ALCMAN, CALLIMACHUS, ETC. 2387-98

ἀβάλε 87³ ii 17(?).
 ἀγγέλλειν 97^{3(b)} i 18.
 ἄγειν 95¹ 12.
 ἀγέρωχος 90^{1(b)} 4.
 Ἀγησιόρα [89⁶ ii 16-17] 89^{7(b)} [3], 4, 5, 7.
 Ἀγιδῶ 89⁶ i 2, ii 5, 17.
 ἀγρεῖος 89⁹ i 14.
 ἀγρως 90² ii 10, 12.
 ἀγχιταλον [89³⁵ ii 19].
 -αγωγός 90¹⁴ 4(?).
 ἀγών 87¹ 8(?).
 ἀδηλος 90² ii 15.
 ἀδιάκριτος 90² iii 23.
 ἀδικεῖν 98¹ i 3.
 ἀείδειν 87⁴ 7 89³⁵ i 15, 16, 19, [20-21].
 ἀείρεσθαι [89⁶ ii 2, 23].
 ἀέκων 95¹ 14.
 ἀηδών 89³² 6.
 Ἀθαναι- 91³⁸ 3(?).
 Ἀθήναι 97¹⁵ 9.
 ἄθροισμα 93¹ 7.
 ἄθυρμα 94^{2(a)} 6(?).
 αἰ 87³ ii 17, 19 95¹ ii(?).
 αἰγλάεις 87³ ii 6.
 αἰδη[λ 88⁴ 5(?).
 αἰδοῦσθαι [89^{3(a)} 4].
 αἰζήσιος [97⁵ 5].
 Αἰνησιμβρότα 89^{7(a)} i 3.
 αἰολᾶ 87⁴ 2.
 αἰρεῖν 87³ ii 15.
 αἰτεῖν 95¹ 11.
 Αἰτωλία [89³⁵ ii 16].
 Αἰτωλικός 89³⁵ ii 18.
 Αἰτωλός 89³⁵ ii 17.
 αἰχματᾶς 93¹ 6.

αἰψα 87³ ii 21 94^{1(b)} ii 6.
 ἀκόλουθος 91²³ 5.
 ἀκοῦειν 87¹ 3 [88¹⁵ 2] 89⁶ ii 16 89³² 4 97^{7(a)} ii 4.
 Ἀλκαῖος [91^{21(a)} 5(?)].
 Ἀλκμάν 89⁶ i 13 89⁹ i 9 90² ii 26, iii 9 90³⁴ 7 92 2.
 ἀλλά 87³ iii 10(?) 89^{7(b)} 4 89⁹ i 11 90² ii 8, 12, 13, iii 23, 27 91³⁶ 4 95¹ 16(?) 98³, 14.
 ἄλλο τι ἢ 97^{3(a)} i 7.
 ἄλλος 95¹ 16(?).
 ἀλλότριος [88³ 2].
 ἄμωρ 90² iii 27.
 ἀμβρόσιος 89⁶ i 2, 25-26.
 ἀμείβεσθαι 87³ ii 4.
 ἀμυσσα [87¹¹ 4].
 Ἀμμώνιος 96 2.
 Ἀμυκλαί 91^{21(b)} 10.
 ἀμυμ[95¹ 17.
 ἀμφίβολος 89¹ 15.
 ἀμφοτέρως 89⁶ i 7-8, 9.
 ἀν 89⁹ i 6 97¹⁵ 7.
 ἀναγινώσκειν 90² ii 5-6.
 ἀνάδημα 94^{2(c)} 4.
 ἀναχωρ[94^{1(b)} ii 6.
 ἀνδροδάμας [89⁴ ii 1].
 ἀνδρών [97^{3(a)} i 10(?)].
 ἀνήρ 89⁹ i 14 90² ii 10, 10.
 ἀντί 89¹ 17 90² iii 21 90^{33(c)} 2.
 ἀντιγραφον (87¹ 2).
 ἀντιλέγειν 89^{3(b)} 4.
 ἀντιστροφος 89⁶ ii 26 (94^{1(a)} i 5).
 ἀντίφαρις 89⁹ i 8*.
 ἀσιδά 87¹ 2.
 ἀπαλός 87¹ 10 87³ ii 8, 20.
 ἀπατᾶν 89⁹ i 13.

ἀπερίγραπτος (87¹ 5).
 ἀπήριτος 89¹ 14(?).
 ἀπό [87¹ 7] 90² iii 6.
 ἀπόητος 90² iii 10*.
 ἀποφύγειν 90^{1(a)} 7.
 ἀργυρίς 87³ ii 17.
 ἀργυρος 91⁴ 2.
 Ἀρίσταρχος 89⁶ i 7.
 Ἀριστόνικος (87¹ 4).
 ἄριστος 90² ii 14 97¹⁰ 1.
 Ἀριστοτέλης 89⁹ i 12.
 Ἀριστοφάνης [90^{50(c)} 7].
 ἀρόζειν 97^{7(b)} 15.
 ἀρχεσθαι 90² iii 7.
 ἀρχή 90² iii 8, 14, 16, 20.
 Ἀσάνα 87¹³ 5(?).
 ἀσάνατος 87¹³ 5(?) 89¹ 4.
 Ἀσία 87²³ 2.
 ἀστήρ 87³ ii 6.
 ἄστρον 89⁶ ii 29, 32(?).
 ἄστν 87²³ 5(?).
 Ἀστυμέλεια 87³ ii 4, 13.
 ἀταλός 95¹ 11(?).
 ἀτάρ 97^{7(a)} ii 3.
 Ἀταρνίδες 89⁶ ii 8-9.
 ἀτασθαλία [89¹ 17].
 ἄτε 89⁶ ii 29.
 αὐτόματος 95¹ 8.
 αὐτός 89⁶ ii 6 89⁹ i 11 90² i 9, 29 90^{50(b)} 23, (c) 2, 9 91^{21(b)} 6 97¹ i 97^{7(a)} i 4.
 ἀφνεός (94^{1(a)} i 4).
 Ἀφροδίτη 90² ii 4.
 ἄχρεσθαι 95¹ 7(?).
 Ἀχλλεύς 97^{7(b)} 16 97⁸ 3.
 βαθύφρων 87³ ii 22.

βάλε 87³ ii 17.
 βασιλεύς [89¹⁸ 2] 90² ii 15, 20.
 βεβαιωτής 89⁹ i 6.
 βία 95¹ 2.
 βλάπτειν 90^{1(a)} 8.
 βλέπειν 89^{7(b)} 1.
 βλέφαρον 90^{1(b)} 6.
 βοηθός [97⁴ 3].
 βόσκειν [97¹ 3].
 βούλεσθαι 89⁶ i 12.
 Βριάρεως 90⁴⁹ i 12.
 -βῶς [88¹ 10].

γάλα 98 16.
 γάρ 87³ ii 17 89⁶ ii 21, 25 89³² 3 89³⁵ i 4, ii 17 90² ii 9, iii 7 90⁴⁹ ii 8 91² 2 91²⁴ 2 97^{3(a)} i 5.
 γάρυμα 88¹ 5.
 γαστήρ 98 1.
 γε 88⁴ 7 89⁶ ii 14.
 γενεα() 90⁴⁹ ii 13.
 γενεαλογεῖν [90² ii 29].
 γενικός 90² ii 6.
 γέννατο 89⁴ ii 10.
 γένος 89⁶ i 8.
 Γῆ 90² ii 28.
 γέγνεσθαι 87³ ii 21 88¹ 3 89⁹ i 6-7 90² iii 4, 8, 10-11, 12, 15-16, 16-17, 23, 24.
 γλέφαρον 87¹ 7.
 γλυκύς 87¹ 7 87³ ii 3(?) 91⁹ 4 91^{21(c)} 2.
 γυναικωνίτις [97^{3(a)} i 12].

δαίμων 90² ii 13.
 δαίς [95¹ 9].
 Δαμαρέτα 89^{7(a)} i 2.
 δάμος 87³ ii 14.
 δέ (87¹ 4) 87³ ii 2, 4, 22 87²³ 2, 4 88¹ 8 89¹ 3 89⁶ i 16, ii 7 89³⁵ i 7, ii 10, 12, 14, 15 90² ii 13, 15, 17, 25, 27, iii 3, [12], 14, 18, 19, 21, 29 90²³ 3 90^{33(c)} 2 91¹ 13 95¹ 6, 11, 13, 14 97¹ i, 2 97^{7(a)} ii 9 98² (?).
 δέλεος 98 14.
 δεικνύειν 88¹ 6.
 δεύτερος [89⁶ i 3].
 δέχεσθαι [89⁶ 2(?)].
 δηλοῦν 91¹ 2.
 διά 89⁶ ii 23 90² iii 22 91² 2 (94^{1(a)} i 5).
 διαβαίνειν 87³ ii 10.

διάγειν 90^{50(c)} 14.
 διαπτεής 87³ ii 7.
 διακρίνειν 90² iii 29.
 διάλεκτος 96 3.
 διαπρέπειν [89⁶ i 9].
 διαφέρειν 90² ii 9 90^{50(c)} 16.
 διδόναι 91⁴ 6.
 δίξασθαι 90^{50(c)} 19, 20.
 διό 91⁴ 6.
 Διονύσιος 92 1.
 Διόσκουροι 89¹ 8 (89¹ 17) 89^{3(b)} 3 [93¹ 9].
 δματήρ 89^{3(a)} 6.
 δοκεῖν [90² ii 27].
 δρόμος 91^{21(b)} 11(?).
 Δύμναια 88⁵ 4 [89³⁵ i 5, 7] 90² ii 25, 25.
 δύο (94^{1(a)} i).
 δυσμή 98 13.
 δυσφορεῖν 95¹ 3.
 Δωρικῶς 91²³ 7.

εάν 89⁶ ii 15 89^{7(b)} 8.
 ἐγώ 87¹ i 87³ ii 4 89⁶ ii 1, 28(?), 31 89^{7(b)} 3, 11 [90² ii 27] 94^{1(a)} ii 2, (b) ii 4 95¹ 11, 13.
 ἐθέλειν 95¹ 12.
 ἔθνος 89⁶ i 14.
 εἰδέναι 81³ 26 88³ 4.
 εἶδος 89⁶ i 3.
 εἰκασία 89³³ 3.
 εἶναι (87¹ 5) 89⁶ ii 18, 25 89⁹ i 7 89³⁵ ii 15, 16 90² ii 6, 11, 19, 24, iii 14, 23, 28 90²³ 3 90^{50(c)} 16 97⁶ 2(?) 97¹⁵ 7.
 εἰς 87³ iii 11(?) 96 5 97¹⁵ 10.
 εἰς 90² ii 7.
 εἰσάγειν 89³⁵ i 3.
 εἶτα 90² iii 10, 12.
 ἐκ 89⁴ ii 8 90² ii 10, iii 3 97^{7(a)} ii 11.
 Ἐκάλη 98 3(?).
 ἐκείνος (87¹ 3) 91⁴ 3.
 ἐκτιθέναι 90² ii 26-27.
 Ἐλένη 89¹ 10.
 ἔλεφαντινός [94^{2(a)} 5].
 ἐμός 98 11.
 ἐν (87¹ 2, 3, 4) 89¹ 9 89³⁵ i 3, 10(?), ii 11, 20 90³⁴ 8(?) 90⁴⁹ ii 9 97¹ 2 97^{3(a)} i 8, 10.
 ἐναντίος 90² ii 11, 11.
 ἐντεῦθεν 90² iii 5.
 ἐξαγγέλλειν 97³ 3.

ἐξελέγχειν [90² ii 8].
 ἐξόπιθεν [97⁵ 6, 7].
 εὐκίνα 89⁹ i 11 [90² ii 17(?)].
 ἐπακολουθεῖν 90² iii 13.
 ἐπείγειν 90⁴⁹ ii 7.
 ἐπί 89³⁵ i 4, ii 15 90^{50(b)} 27 91¹ i 1 95¹ 9, 15 97¹⁰ 3.
 ἐπιτάσσειν 90^{50(d)} i 9(?).
 ἐποποιός [92 1(?)].
 ἔπος 89³⁵ i 13, 14, 14.
 ἐρανός 95¹ 9.
 ἔργον 89¹ 16 97^{11(a)} 2.
 ἔρνος 87³ ii 8.
 ἔτι 90² iii 23.
 Εὐβοία 89³⁵ ii 20 [90⁴⁹ i 7] 97¹⁵ 9.
 εὐδαίμων 90² ii 12.
 Εὐρυκράτης 90² ii 20(?).
 εὐρύστερνος 87¹¹ 3.
 εὐρύχορος [87²³ 2].
 εὐτε 98 15.
 ἐχέγγυος 89⁹ i 5.
 ἔχειν 87³ i 5, 23 89¹ 13 90² iii 17 91⁴ 3 97^{3(b)} ii 16.
 ἐχθραν 90² i 25.
 ἐχιδνα 89¹⁰ 3.
 ἔωσ 90^{1(a)} i 5 90² ii 14.

ζῆν 90^{50(c)} 17.
 ζῆ 87³ ii 8, 8 91⁴ 5 98⁴ 14.
 ἦδη 98 12.
 ἦλιος 90² iii 22, 28 98 13.
 ἡμέρα 89²⁰ 1.
 ἡμέρος 90² ii 13.
 Ἡπειρος 89³⁵ ii 12.
 ἦρα 87⁴ 4.
 Ἡρακλειαν 90⁴⁰ 3.
 Θεόπομος 89³⁵ ii 16.
 θεός 89¹ 3 89^{3(a)} 3 89⁴ ii 6 89² 93¹ 4.
 Θεράπνια 89¹ 8, 12.
 Θεσπρωτοί 89³⁵ ii 13.
 Θεσσαλία 89³⁵ ii 11.
 Θέτις 90² iii 15, 19.
 Θέων 90² ii 4-5.
 θνήσκειν 91^{21(b)} 7.
 Θρακῆ 89³⁵ ii 15.
 Θριαί 98 9.
 θυγάτηρ 90² ii 16, 22, 29.
 θυμός 95¹ i, 7.
 θύρα 97^{3(a)} i 11.

Ἰβηρός 89⁶ i 4, 6, 10.
 ἰέναι 87¹ 8 90² ii 13 94^{1(b)} ii 13.
 ἴλιον 97¹⁰ 3.
 ἴνα 90² ii 6.
 ἱππεύς 88¹ 8.
 ἱππος 88⁶ 9 89⁶ i 1, 4, 8.
 ἱππότης 89^{3(a)} 6.
 ἰσδειν 87³ ii 12.
 ἰσος 90^{50(b)} 23, 50(c) 8.
 ἰσάναι 90² ii 8.
 ἰτέα 94^{2(c)} 6(?)
 ἰχθυῖ 88² 5.
 Κάδμος [89¹ 14].
 καθάπερ 89⁶ ii 13.
 καθόλου (89¹ 19).
 καί (87¹ 3) 87³ ii 2 87²³ 5 89¹ 17 89³ ii 17 89⁹ i 12 89³⁵ i 8, 13, ii 15, 16 90² ii 21, iii 10, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 25, 25, 26, 26 90²³ 2 90^{50(c)} 19 91² 3.
 κακίζειν 90³⁰ 2.
 Κάλαϊος 90² ii 9-10, 12.
 καλεῖν 90^{50(c)} 18 98^{3(?)}.
 καλλίφυρος 89^{7(b)} 5.
 καλός 87¹ 5 94^{1(b)} ii 10.
 καναχάπους [89⁶ ii 26-27].
 Καρχη[89¹⁷ 1.
 κασινγήτη [90^{1(a)} 11].
 Κασσωπαῖοι [89³⁵ ii 14].
 Κάστωρ 89^{3(a)} 5 [90^{1(a)} i 5].
 κατά 87³ ii 13 89⁶ i 3 89^{7(a)} i 3 90² i 24, ii 6 97⁶ 3.
 κατασκευάζειν 89^{3(b)} 7 90² iii 7, 11.
 καταστρέφειν 90^{50(c)} 14.
 κάτω 94^{2(a)} 11.
 κείθι 91^{21(a)} 4.
 κείσθαι 89⁶ i 15.
 κελεύειν 97^{3(b)} ii 18.
 Κένταυρος 95¹ 10.
 κεφαλή 94^{2(a)} 11.
 κήνος 87³ ii 3(?), 21(?).
 Κινύρας 87³ ii 11.
 Κλησιμβρότα 88¹ 9.
 Κνίδιος 89⁶ i 17.
 Κολαζαῖος 89⁶ i 1, 4, 5.
 κόμη 87¹ 9 [94^{2(a)} 2].
 κομμ[90^{50(d)} i 7.
 κόραξ 98¹ 15.
 κρητήρ 90^{50(b)} 26.

κρίμων 98⁵.
 κροτεῖν 95¹ 14(?).
 κρυερός (87³ i 4).
 κυάνεος [98 17].
 κυδρός 89^{3(a)} 7.
 Κύπρις 91¹¹ 5.
 Κύπρος 97¹⁵ 3, [10].
 κῶμα 89¹ 2.
 λάζεσθαι [97⁴ 4].
 Λακεδαιμόνιος 90² ii 15, [20].
 Λάκων 89⁹ i 7, 8 96⁴.
 λαμβάνειν 87³ ii 20 90^{1(c)} 4 90² i 27.
 λέγειν 87³ ii 16(?) 89¹ 3 89^{3(b)} 5 89⁶ ii 4 89³⁶ ii 19 90²⁸ 3 90^{50(c)} 4 95¹ 6 97⁸ 4 [97⁹ 1].
 λείπειν 89⁶ ii 28.
 λέξις 89³⁵ i 13.
 Λεωτυχίδας 90² ii 14, 19.
 λίσσεσθαι 90² ii 22.
 λόγος 89⁶ ii 30.
 λοιπός 89^{7(b)} 2 90² ii 28.
 Λυδός 89⁹ i 11.
 Λυσιμελής 87³ ii 1.

μά 98 10.
 Μαλέα 95¹ 13.
 μάλιστα [87¹ 9] 89³⁵ i 15, 21 90² ii 22-23.
 μαλακός 88¹ 5.
 μαρμαρυγή 90² iii 27.
 μάρτυς 89⁶ i 16.
 μάχεσθαι 89⁶ ii 3, 19, 24.
 μάχιμος 89³⁵ ii 10, 17.
 μαψιδίως 87³ ii 3.
 μέγας 95¹ 15 μέγιστος [90²⁸ 2].
 μείων 88⁶ 11(?).
 μέλημα 87³ ii 14.
 μέλισσα [97^{14(a)} 2].
 μελοπ[89³² 7.
 μέλος 87¹ 5 89⁹ i 10 89³⁵ i 13 92 3.
 μέν 89^{3(a)} 8 89³² 3 90² iii 14, 28 90³⁴ 5.
 Μενέλαος 89¹ 6.
 μενήρη 90^{50(c)} 17, 18.
 μέριμνα [90^{50(c)} 18].
 μέσος 97^{3(a)} i 11.
 μετά 89¹ 8, 12 90² ii 27, iii 29.
 μή 89^{7(b)} 6.
 μηδέπω 90² iii 22.
 μήτε 90² iii 22, 22.
 μικρός 95¹ 14(?).

Μίμνερμος 90² ii 29.
 μιμνήσκειν 89¹ 13, 16.
 Μναμοσύνα 89⁴ ii 9.
 μόνος 90² iii 28-29 [98 1].
 Μούσα 89⁴ ii 9 90² ii 28.
 μυριαχ[90³⁵ 6.
 μύρον 94^{2(c)} 5.
 μῶνυξ [97^{7(a)} ii 10].

ναί 98 10.
 ναίειν 89^{3(a)} 4(?).
 νεκείν 97^{3(a)} i 9.
 νεΐσθαι 89⁶ ii 15.
 νεοχμός 88¹ 6.
 Νι() 94^{1(a)} i 1.
 νομίζειν [89⁹ i 12].
 νότιος 87³ ii 11.
 νύμφα 87⁴ 6.
 νῦν 87³ ii 22 89^{7(b)} 6 89³⁵ i 4 90² ii 13.
 νυν 87⁴ 4.
 νύξ 89⁶ ii 23.

ξανθός 87¹ 9 90² ii 18.

ὀ (87¹ 2, 4) 87³ ii 24 88¹ 8, 10 88² 5 89¹ 8, 16(?) 89^{3(a)} 8, (b) 3 89⁴ ii 8 89⁶ i 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, ii 5, 12, 17, 18, 18, 20, 31 89^{7(b)} 5, 7 89⁹ i 12 89³⁵ i 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 13, ii 12, 12, 14, 18, 20 90^{1(c)} 2, 3, 3 90² ii 11, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 24, 24(?) 26, 27, 28, iii 3, 6, 7, 9, 9, 11, 12, 14, 14, 15, 18, 18, 18, 18, 19, 19, 19, 19, 20, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28 90²³ 32 90³⁴ 8(?) 90^{50(c)} 18 91¹ i 3, 4 91^{21(b)} 6 91³⁶ 2 (94^{1(a)} i 5) 96 2, 5 97¹ 2 97² i 3 97^{3(a)} i 8, 10, 11, 13, ii 9 97^{7(a)} i 3, ii 9, (b) ii 15 97^{14(a)} 3 97¹⁵ 10 [98 10].

Ὀδυσσεΐα [97² i 3(?)].
 οἰκτρός 90^{50(c)} 1.
 οἰονεῖ 90² iii 8, 15.
 οἶος 88³ 5 90² iii 14.
 ὄλακ[87³ iii 8.
 ὄλοός 89¹ 17.
 Ὀλυμπιάς 87¹ 1.
 Ὀμπρος 89³⁵ i 14 [89³⁵ ii 19].
 ὄπλον 97^{7(b)} 14.
 ὄρᾶν 87³ ii 19.
 ὄρειος [89⁶ ii 14].
 ὀρκοίτας 95¹ 10*.

ὄς 97^{3(a)} i 9 98 15.
 ὄστε 88¹ 10(?).
 ὄτε 89⁹ i 7.
 ὄτι 89^{3(a)} 8 89^{7(b)} 8 [89⁹ i 7] 97^{3(a)} i 7.
 οὐ 89^{3(a)} 8 89^{7(b)} 6 90² ii 9, 11, iii 27 90^{50(c)} 15, 16 98 2(?), 12.
 οὐδέ 87³ ii 3 88¹ 12 88⁵ 7 89⁹ i 14 90² ii 2(?), 7, 8, 10, 12.
 οὐδέεις 87³ ii 4 89^{7(b)} 9 94^{1(b)} i 4.
 οὖν 90² iii 9, 24.
 οὗτος (87¹ 2) 89⁶ i 8, 19, ii 7 89^{7(a)} i 3 90² ii 25-26, iii 29 90^{50(c)} 22.
 οὕτως 89^{3(b)} 5 89⁶ i 2, ii 16 90^{50(c)} 15 (94^{1(a)} i 5).
 ὄφεα[95¹ 17.
 ὄψ 87¹ 4.

παῖς 87³ ii 22, 24 90² ii 14, 18 95¹ 11.
 πάλιν 91²³ 9(?).
 Πανακρίς [97^{14(a)} 2].
 παπταίνειν 94^(b) ii 5.
 παρά 91⁹ 5 94^{1(b)} ii 7 94^{2(a)} 4 97^{3(a)} i 4.
 παραλλήλως [91^{21(b)} 6].
 παρεγγράφειν (87¹ 2).
 παρῆναι 89^{7(b)} 6.
 παρθένος 89⁹ i 9.
 παρθένος 89^{7(b)} 2, 10 89³⁵ i 9.
 παριέναι 90² iii 13.
 παριστάναι 90² ii 3.
 παρσενικά 87³ ii 12.
 παρσενική [94^{2(a)} 8], (14).
 πᾶς 89³⁵ ii 17 90² iii 2, 9, 12, 16, 17.
 πέδα 87¹ 8(?) 90² ii 10.
 πεζός 97⁶ 4.
 Πελεϊάς 89⁶ ii 14, 21.
 πέλεκυς [97⁵ 5].
 Πελο[ποννησ- 89¹ 9.
 πέμπτος (87¹ 3).
 πευθερός 91^{21(a)} 2, [3].
 περί 87¹ 1 89⁶ i 16, ii 31 96 3 97^{3(a)} i 10.
 περιγράφειν (87¹ 4).
 πήρας [87¹¹ 2].
 Πιτάνη, Πιτανάτις 89³⁵ i 3, 7, 8, 10(?), 11.
 Πλειάς 89⁶ ii 20.
 πλειός 94^{2(c)} 5(?).

πλεονάκις [89⁶ ii 8].
 πλησίον 90² ii 7.
 πλούσιος 94^{1(a)} i 4, (4).
 ποιείν 91² 2.
 ποιήεις 93² 6(?).
 ποικίλος 88¹ 7.
 πολεμικός [93¹ 7(?)].
 πόλεμος 97^{7(a)} ii 11.
 πόλις 91³⁶ 4, [5] 97¹⁵ 5.
 πολιτα[91³⁶ 2.
 Πολυδεύκης 90^{1(a)} 3, 9.
 Πολύδαυρος 90² ii 18, 21.
 πολυτήμων 90² ii 9, 11-12.
 πολύς 87²³ 4 89¹ 13 90^{50(c)} 15, 16 94¹¹ 1.
 πόντος 89⁶ i 19.
 πόρος 90² iii 3(?), 6, 8, 12, 12-13, 14, 19, 24-25.
 πόρτις 97¹ 2.
 πόσος 87³ ii 1.
 πότερον [89¹ 15].
 ποτιδέρκεσθαι 87³ ii 2.
 ποτίφορος 89⁹ i 10.
 πούς 87¹ 10 87³ ii 10 94^{2(a)} 10.
 Πρατίνος [89³⁵ i 5(?)].
 πρεσβύτερος 90² iii 21.
 πρέσγυς 90² iii 20.
 προοίμιον [89² 1].
 πρόσ [89⁶ i 4] 90² i 24 95¹ 13.
 πρότερος 90² iii 28.
 πτερόεις 89³⁵ i 14.
 Πτολεμαῖος (87¹ 4) 97² i 5.
 πτολίεθρον 97¹⁵ 8.
 πυθμήν 94^{1(b)} ii 7.
 πυκνός 94^{2(a)} 4-(c) 6(?).
 πυλών 87³ ii 5.
 πυρετός 90^{50(c)} 3(?).
 πως 87³ ii 19.

ράβδος 97² i 6.
 ρύμος 98 12.

σαλαμ[88² 3.
 σάλπιξ 88⁵ 8.
 σάνατος 87³ ii 2.
 σελήνη 90² iii 22-23, 26.
 Σεράπνα[88⁸ 4.
 σιγαλόεις [94^{1(b)} ii 11(?)].
 σιόδατος 89^{3(a)} 5 93¹ 8.
 σίριος 89⁶ ii 18.
 σκεδανύται 87¹ 7.
 σκότος 90² iii 21, 25, 26, 28.

σοφός 89⁹ i 9.
 σταθμός [97^{3(a)} i 9].
 στέγος [89^{3(a)} 5(?)].
 στρατός 87³ ii 13 [93¹ 6(?)].
 στρέφειν 97^{7(a)} ii 10.
 στυγ- 97^{7(a)} ii 5.
 σύ 90² ii 7, 8.
 σύγκεισθαι 97^{14(a)} 6.
 συλλαπτικ[89⁴ ii 5.
 συμφορ[90^{1(c)} 6.
 σύμφητος [89⁹ i 13].
 σύν 90² iii 28.
 σύνδεσμος 91²³ 8.
 συνουσία 91^{21(b)} 9.
 σῦφαρ 98 11.
 σχιδόν 94^{1(b)} ii 8.

τάκειν 87⁴ 3.
 τακερός 87³ ii 1.
 ταναός 87³ ii 10.
 τανασιπτερος [94^{2(a)} 13].
 ταρασσειν 90² iii 9-10.
 τε 87³ ii 1 89⁹ i 10, 12 89³⁵ ii 19 90² iii 26 (94^{1(a)} 14) 94^{2(a)} 3.

τέγος 89^{3(a)} 5 [93¹ 8].
 τεῖδε 95¹ 11(?).
 τεύρειν [89^{7(b)} 3, 11].
 τέκμων 90² iii 3-4, 13-14, 14-15, 19-20, 25.
 τελετή [89¹ 4].
 τέλος 90² iii 15, 16, 20.
 τέρπειν 89¹ 5.
 Τεύκρος 97¹⁵ 6.
 τεύχος 97^{7(a)} ii 9, 12.
 τεχνίτης 90² iii 19.
 τιθέται 94^{2(c)} 6.
 Τιμασιμβρότα 90² ii 16, 21.
 τιμᾶν 89¹ 7.
 τιμή [89¹ 13].
 τινάσσειν 87¹ 9.
 τις 87³ ii 3, 6 90² i 24, ii 17, iii 8, 11 97⁸ 4.
 τοιοῦτος 89⁶ ii 30.
 τρίτος 90² iii 21, 26.
 Τρύφων 96 1.
 Τρώς 97^{3(a)} i 7.
 Τυνδαρίδης 89⁴ ii 8.
 Τυραννίαν 90² ii 5.

ὑβρις 89¹ 17.
 ὑδωρ 94^{2(a)} 12.
 υἱός 90² ii 19.
 ὕλη 90² iii 7, 9, 18, 24.

ὄμαλιξ 94^{1(a)} i 1, (1).
 ὄμνείν 87¹ 5.
 ὄμνος 89³⁵ i 12.
 ὄπερ[90² ii 23.
 ὄπερβο[89³³ 2.
 ὄπνος 87³ ii 2.
 ὄπό 89^{3(b)} 6(?) 90² iii 24.
 ὄπόθευς 89^{7(a)} i 3.
 ὄπ(όμνημα) 92 4.
 φάναί 89⁶ i 11 89⁹ i 7 90² iii
 11 91⁴ 4, 5.
 φέρειν 89⁶ i 10 [97^{7(a)} ii 11].
 -φέρειν 89⁶ i 10 90¹⁴ 6.
 φίλοπ[87¹¹ 1.
 φίλος 87³ ii 19.
 Φίλυλλα 89^{7(a)} i 2.
 Φλειάσιος [89³⁵ i 5].

Φοίβαιος 90^{1(c)} 2, 3.
 Φοίβη 89⁴ ii 2.
 φοινίκιος 94^{2(c)} 3.
 φρήν 87¹ i 89¹ 5.
 φροντίς 90^{50(c)} 19.
 φυή 90² ii 17.
 φυλα[91^{21(b)} 11.
 φυλή 90² ii 24.
 φυσιολογείν [90² ii 26].
 φύσις 90² iii 18.

χαίτη 87³ ii 12.
 Χαλκιδεῖς 89³⁵ ii 14, 20.
 Χαλκίς 89³⁵ ii 18, 19.
 χαλκός 90² iii 18.
 Χάονες 89³⁵ ii 13.
 χάρις 87³ ii 11, 25.
 χείρ 87³ ii 20 97⁴ 4.

χηρεύειν 97² ii 4.
 χορός [90² ii 24(?)].
 χροίη[98 16.
 χρόνος 90^{50(c)} 15.
 χρύσιος 87³ ii 8.
 χρυσός 90² ii [6], 7, 8.

ψίλον 87³ ii 8.
 ψιλῶς 90² iii 27.
 ψυχρός (87³ i 4).

ωιδή 90² ii 26.
 ὠρανός 87³ ii 7.
 ὠς 89⁶ ii 21 89^{7(b)} 6 89³⁵ i 14
 90² ii 29, iii 7 93² 2(?) 95¹
 17 97^{3(a)} i 8 97¹³ 7 98 9.
 ὤσπερ 97^{3(b)} i 16.
 ὥστε 89⁶ ii 27 94⁶ 2.

(b) PROSE (2399 and 2400)

Ἀγαθοκλῆς [99 10].
 Ἀθηναῖοι 00 15.
 ἀμάζειν 00 9.
 Ἀλέξανδρος 00 14.
 ἄλλος 99 17.
 Ἀμίλλας 99 37, [95].
 ἄν (= εἰς) 99 39.
 ἀναίρειν 00 7.
 ἀνήρ 99 62.
 ἀνθρωπος 99 52, 60, 79.
 ἀνιστάται: ἀναστάς 99 46, 71.
 Ἄντανδρος 99 72.
 ἀντειπεῖν 00 6.
 ἀντικείμενος 99 5.
 ἄνω 99 19.
 ἀξιόμαχος 99 30.
 ἀπάγειν 99 75.
 ἀπό 99 78.
 ἀποκατα[99 91.
 ἀποκτείνειν 00 3.
 ἀσβεία 00 13.
 αὐτός 99 23, 31, 64, 76, 96.
 ἀφασία 99 67.
]αφιστάται 99 20.

βῆμα 99 48.
 βούλεσθαι 99 48, 77, [fr. i 3].
 γεωργεῖν 00 16.
 γῆ [00 16].
]γγνώσκειν 99 109.
 γράφειν 00 2, 5.

Δημάδης 00 17.
 *δημοκόπιον 00 5.
 δῆμος 99 51.
 διαβάλλειν 99 97.
 διαλέγεσθαι 99 50.
 [δ]ιαπίπτειν(?) 99 92.
 διατιθέναι 99 59.
 διαφθείρειν 99 36.
 διδόναι [00 15].
 διευλαβεῖσθαι 99 69.
 Διόγνητος 99 34, 72, 98, [108],
 fr. i 4.
 Διόδοτος 00 6.
 Διονύσια, τά 00 11.
 δράμα 00 12.
 δύναμις [99 17].
 δύνασθαι 99 40.
 ἐγχειρεῖν 99 72.
 εἰδέναι: εἰδησάι 99 78.
 εἶναι 99 33, 99.
 εἴργειν 99 14.
 ἐκκλησία 99 74.
 ἐκκλησιάζειν 99 41.
 ἐν 00 12.
 ἐξαίφνης 99 45.
 ἐπί 99 19, 47, 62, fr. iii 6.
 ἐπιθορυβεῖν [99 63].
 ἐπικαλεῖν 99 35.
 ἔτι 99 66.
 Εὐρυπίδης 00 10.
 ἔχειν 99 30.
 ἔως 99 13.

ἦβαν 00 4.
 Ἡρακλῆς 00 10.
 ἠθῆβαι 00 14.

]ισταναι:]στας[99 fr. i 2.

]καυσο[τερ 99 fr. i 5.
 καταλαμβάνεσθαι 99 3.
 καταπλήσσειν 99 61.
 κατασκάπτειν 00 14.
 κατάστασις 99 33.
 κατέχειν 99 76.
 κατηγορεῖν 99 95.
 κελεύειν 99 65.
 κίνησις 99 70.
 Κλέων 00 2.
 κρίνειν 00 13.

λέγειν 99 66.
 Λευκός Τύνης 99 6.
 λόγος 99 58.
 λόφος 99 4.

μαίνεσθαι 00 11.
 μεθιστάται 99 40.
 μηκέτι 00 7.
 Μιτυληναῖος 00 3, 8.

Νέα πόλις 99 12.

ὄδος 99 11.
 ὅτι 99 48.

οὗτος 99 7, [56].
 ὄχυροῦσθαι 99 7.

πάλιν 99 22.
 παρά 00 8.
 παρασκευάζειν 99 38.
 παρῆναι 99 58.
 παρέχειν 99 9.
 παριστάται: παρεστώς 99 44.
]πέμπειν 99 fr. iii 2.
 περί 99 25, 49, [52], 70, 96.
 πλείων 99 59.
 πλῆθος 99 29.
 πλησίον 99 15.
 ποιεῖν 00 12.
 πόλεμος 99 [25], 44.
 πολιορκία 99 112.
 πόλις 99 31, 41, 70.

πολίτης [99 94].
 πολὺς 99 8; οἱ πολλοί 99 67.
 πρᾶγμα [99 8].
 προανακρούεσθαι 99 46.
 προνομεῖν 99 16.
 προσάγειν 99 110.
 πρότερον 99 77.

στρατεύειν 99 18.
 συμβουλευεῖν 00 17.
 συμ[μαχ [99 23].
 συμφέρειν: τὰ συμφέροντα 99 49.
 συνάγειν 99 24.
 συνέχειν 99 68.
 συνιστάται 99 113; συνεστῶτες
 99 57.
 Συρακόσιοι 99 29, 42.
 Συρακοῦσσαι 99 111.

παραχῶδης 99 99.
 τεῖχος 99 fr. iii 5.
 τηρεῖν 99 32.
 τις 99 70.
 τοιοῦτος 99 32.
 τόλμα 99 62.
 τυγχάνειν [99 105].

ὑπέρ 99 43.

*φαλαίσιος 99 35.
 φηγός 99 38.

ὠμότης 99 97.

]αλλάσσειν(?) 99 55.
]μιστάται:]νεστότος 99 26.

(c) GLOSSARY TO HOMER, *Iliad* i (2405)

ἀγαθός 94, 129.
 ἀληθής 127.
 ἄλλος 171.
 ἀμίαντος 10.
 ἄνευ 103, 104.
 ἀνιστάται [1].
 ἀνταποκρίνεσθαι 75, 174.
 ἀπέρχεσθαι 170.
 ἀτάρ 12.
 ἄτιμος 166.
 αὐτός 39, 42, 44, 152.

βαθὺς 118.
 βασιλεύς 54.
 βλέπειν 88, 89, 169.
 βοηθεῖν 60.

γαμεῖν 149.
 γῆ 87.
 γίγνεσθαι 36.
 γυνή 150, 151.

δῆ 144, 180.
 διδόναι 43, 101.
 διότι 135.

εἰάν 17.
 εἰάνπερ 69.
 ἐθέλειν 140.
 εἰδέναι 32, 81, 184.
 εἶναι 33, 160.
 εἰπεῖν 51, 93.

ἐκπορθεῖν 186.
 ἐλάττων 70, [153].
 Ἔλληνας 65, 67, 165.
 ἔνδοξος 21, 177.
 ἐξεκκλησιάζεσθαι 47.
 ἐξιλιάσκεσθαι 107.
 ἔξοχος 31; -ως 30.
 ἐπιφέρειν 91.
 ἐρεῖν 55.
 ἐρωτᾶν 4.
 εὐθύς: -έως 162.
 εὐόφθαλμος 99.
 εὐχή 14.

Ζεὺς 82.

θέλειν 142.
 θεός 79.
 θύειν 20.
 θυσία 15, 23.

ἱερεὺς 5.
 Ἴλιος 38.
 ἰσχυρός 90.

καθαρός 10.
 κακός: -όν (subst.) 138; -ῶς 124.
 καλός 45.
 καυχᾶσθαι 84.
 κελεύειν 50.
 κοινός 183.
 κόρη 102, 139.

κρατεῖν 66, 114.
 κρείττων 158.

λαμβάνειν 141.
 λάμπειν 121.
 λέγειν 133.
 λίαν 78.
 λόγος 59, 130.
 λυπεῖσθαι 115.
 λύτρον 104.

μακροβόλος 136.
 μαντεία 40.
 μαντεύεσθαι 7, 131.
 μάντευμα 80.

μεγαλόψυχος 181.
 μέγας 15, 22, 106, 113; -λας 64.
 μερίζειν [189].
 μετεπειν 2, 49.
 μῆν (particle) 57.
 μόνος 164.

νέος 19.

ὀδηγός 36.
 οἶκος 143.
 ὀλεθρος [24].
 ὀλόκληρος 159.
 ὀμοιοῦν 122.
 ὀνειρος 6.
 ὀπως 71, 163.
 ὀργή 117.

ἀργίεσθαι 9, 62, 68.
 ἀρνησοσκόπος 28.
 ὄστις 63.
 οὐδείς 86.
 οὔτε 95.
 οὗτος 27, 74, 96, 112, 134, 157,
 173, 188, 193.
 ὀφθαλμός 120.
 παλισύλλεκτος 191.
 παρθενία 148.
 πείθειν [109].
 πόλις 185.
 πούς 176.
 πρᾶσις 103.
 πρέπειν 168, 190.

πρόβατον 18.
 προγίγνεσθαι 34.
 προκρίνειν 145.
 προνοεῖν? 58.
 προσέμπειν 194.
 προσειπεῖν 77, 126.
 προσφιλής 83, 128.
 πρότερος: -ον 98.
 πρῶτος: -τα (adv.) 123.
 σύ 53.
 συναθροίζειν 192.
 συντιθέναι 56.
 σῶζειν 73.
 σῶμα [154].

ταχύς 3, 176.
 τελειοῦν 72.
 τετραπλασίων [196].
 τιμή [161].
 τοξότης 52.
 τόπος 171.
 τοσοῦτος 8.
 τριπλασίων 195.
 ὑπάρχειν 167.
 ὑποβλέπειν 124.
 ὑπολαμβάνειν 61.
 φιλοχρημάτος 178.
 φρονεῖν 46.
 χάριν 96.

II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS

TIBERIUS.

Τιβέριος Καίσαρ 12 6.

HADRIAN.

Ἀδριανός (ε (ἐτ.)) 13, introd., 8, 17. (ζ (ἐτ.)) ibid. 7, 16. (κα (ἐτ.)) ibid. 22.
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τραιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός (ἐτ. κβ) 10 26 seq.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. κβ) 11 53. (ἐτ. κγ) ibid. 73, 80.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN.

ἐτ. γ καὶ ἐτ. β 17 3. ζ (ἐτ.) καὶ ε (ἐτ.) 22 105.

ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS.

οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν Ἀ. καὶ Ὁ. οἱ αἰώνιοι Αὐγ]ουστοὶ 08 [5].

HERACLIUS.

βασ. τοῦ θειοτ. καὶ εὐσεβ. ἡμ. δεσπ. μεγ. εὐεργ. Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγ. καὶ Αὐτ. ἐτ. α 20
 1 seqq.

III. CONSULS

ὑπατία Φλ. Καισαρίου καὶ Ἀττικῶν τῶν λαμπρ. 08 5.

IV. INDICATIONS

ἐνδεκάτη ἰνδ. 08 4, 10 seqq.
 ἰνδ. ἰδ 20 [3].

V. MONTHS AND DAYS

(a) MONTHS

Ἀθύρ 17 3.
 Ἐπιέφ 07 1 (bis).
 Μεσορῆ 07 1 (bis) 13 9, 16, [26] 19 1.
 Παχών 14 iii 5.

Τῶβι 09 3, 4, 11 13 2, 13, 23, 29.
 Φαμενώθ 20 3.
 Φαώφι 07 38.
 Χοιάκ (Χοιάχ) 22 105, 106 23 rt. i 1.

(b) DAYS

τριακάς 19 1.

VI. PERSONAL NAMES

(br.=brother; d.=daughter; f.=father; h.=husband; m.=mother; s.=son;
 w.=wife.) (* denotes names not in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*.)

Ἀγαθος f. of Thonius 15 54.
 Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων f. of Hagia 21 15.
 — f. of Sophia 21 9.
 — s. of Patiesis 15 44.
 Ἀγάθων, *scriiniarius*, 08 13.
 — (same?) 08 6.
 Ἀγία d. of Agathos Daemon 21 15.
 Ἀγίων, ferryman, h. of Atous, 21 8.
 Ἄδραστος s. of Isidorus 12 58, 153, 181.
 Ἀθηνόδωρος f. of Nechthembes, s. of Zoilus, 12
 109.
 — 25 ii 18, 19.
 Ἀκῶρις s. of Pais 12 182.
 Ἀλέξανδρος f. of Onnophris 15 69.
 — f. of Papontos 12 122.
 — 21 73.
 Ἀλλοῦς d. of Demetrius 21 55.
 Ἀμαραντός f. of Isidorus 07 26.
 Ἀμβρόσιος s. of Theon 15 71.
 — 15 62.
 * Ἀμ(μ)ωναροῦς m. of Apollonia 21 70.
 Ἀμμώνιος, βοηθός, 08 7, 10, [13].
 — πραγματευτής of Phil(), h. of Theodora 21
 56.
 — 15 27.
 Ἀμοίς, dyer, 21 59.
 Ἀμοιτᾶς s. of Patermutius 21 29.
 Ἀμολῆς f. of Cephalas 12 92.
 — f. of Onnophris 12 93.
 Ἀμυντιανός s. of Gemellus 21 75.
 Ἀναστάσιος, *proximus*, 19 4.
 * Ἀνέλαιος 07 56.
 Ἀνίκητος f. of Paues 15 79.
 Ἀνίνος, physician, 21 72.
 Ἄννα, washerwoman, 19 9.

Ἄνουβίων s. of Silvanus 15 86.
 Ἀντίνοος, greengrocer, s. of Didymus 21 49.
 Ἀπίων: Φλάουιος Ἀ. (III) 20 4.
 Ἀπολ(λ)ινάριον d. of Sarapammon 21 57.
 Ἀπολλόδωρος, ex-archon, 07 12.
 Ἀπόλλων, f. of Pactumenius Nemesianus 07 31.
 — 15 36.
 Ἀπολλωνία d. of Am(m)onarus 21 70.
 — 21 28.
 Ἀπολλώνιος, strategus, 11 45, 52.
 — f. of Phames 12 88.
 — s. of Secundus 21 51.
 —: Οὐλπιος Ἀ. 15 83.
 Ἀπολλῶς f. of Heraclius 12 32, 131.
 — s. of Dionysodorus 12 [14], 31, 128.
 — s. of Horus 12 82, 160, 188.
 Ἀπί : Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀ. 17 13.
 Ἀραβίων 12 48, 142, 176.
 Ἀράτιππος. See Ἀρίστιππος.
 Ἀρβαίθης s. of Horus 12 102.
 Ἀρθάνιος 21 28.
 Ἄριος, βοηθός, 08 13.
 Ἀρίστιππος f. of Chatylis 12 49, 143, 178.
 — f. of Onnophris 12 45, 140, 174.
 — s. of Onnophris 12 38, 136, 141.
 — 12 47, 177.
 Ἀρίστον f. of Cronius 15 73.
 Ἀροντάτης f. of Petenu() 12 81.
 Ἀρπαῆσις s. of Cephalas 12 129, 170.
 — s. of Semtheus(?) 12 78.
 * Ἀρπικῶς f. of Heraclius 12 52, 147.
 — s. of Heraclius 12 68.
 Ἀρποκράς 08 6.
 Ἀρποκρατίων 14 iii 22.
 — 15 38.

- Ἀρτεμίδωρος f. of Dionysius 12 67.
 Ἀρνώθης s. of Comanus 12 37.
 Ἀρνώτης f. of Hatres 12 162.
 — f. of Semthoemois 12 163.
 Ἀρχέλαος f. of Demetrius 21 50.
 Ἀρχίβιος f. of Theoninus 21 41.
 Ἀρφήμιος s. of Semtheus 12 107.
 *Ἀράβιος: Ἀυρήλιος Α., goldsmith, 20 11, 21, 24.
 Ἀσάμων, fisherman, 21 2.
 Ἀσφεύς s. of Phibis 12 64.
 Ἄτεις s. of Isidorus 12 56.
 Ἄτοϋς w. of Hagion 21 8.
 Ἄτρης f. of Paesis 15 35.
 — f. of Phibis and Stoys 12 59, 154.
 — s. of Haryotes 12 162.
 — s. of Horus 12 87.
 — s. of Semthoemois 12 114.
 — s. of Theodoros 12 111.
 Ἄπτικός: Φλάουιος Α., consul, 08 5.
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἀράβιος, goldsmith, 20 11.
 — Παπνούβιος, goldsmith, s. of Pa. no. ius 20 11.
 Ἀφροδίσιος 24 7.
 Ἀφροδι(), βάφισσα, 21 46.
 Ἀφύγχιος, s. of Pebas, h. of Thaesis 21 14.
 Ἀχιλλεύς 21 46.
 Ἀ[... 10 28.
- *Βαιηρός Βλαστιανός, Prefect, 13 10, 16, 26, 32.
 Βελλής s. of Cornelius 15 56.
 Βησαρίων f. of Dorotheus 21 53.
 Βησάς f. of Silvanus 15 25.
 Βλαστιανός: Βαιηρός Β., Prefect, 13 10, 16, 26, 32.
- Γέμελλος f. of Amyntianus 21 75.
 — f. of Dorotheus 15 74.
 Γούνθος 21 39.
- Δαμαρίων s. of Isidorus 11 44.
 Δημητρία d. of Castor 21 33.
 Δημήτριος, potter, f. of Allous 21 55.
 — s. of Archelaus 21 50.
 Διδύμη d. of Callistratus 21 36.
 Δίδυμος, embroiderer, s. of Dioscorus 21 32.
 — f. of Horion 21 54.
 — f. of Posis 07 56.
 — 15 50.
 Διογένης, donkey-driver, 25 iii 19.
 — f. of Herais, h. of Dioscor[21 64.
 — s. of Sarapion 15 77.
 — 25 ii 20.
 —:]δης δ και Δ. 17 14.
 Διδώωρος f. of Pnephis 21 3.
 — s. of Sarapodorus 21 30.

- Διονύσιος, πραγματευτής of Irene, 21 43.
 — f. of Nemesianus 15 46.
 — (?) f. of Pekysis 15 52.
 — s. of Artemidorus 12 67.
 — s. of Patermutis 21 52.
 — 17 1.
 — 23 vs. i 14, 17.
 — δ και Απ[17 13.
 Διονυσόδωρος f. of Apollos 12 14, 31, 128.
 Δίος s. of Comastes 21 19.
 Διδόσκορος f. of Didymus 21 32.
 — s. of N[21 61.
 Διοσκορ[m. of Herais, w. of Diogenes 21 64.
 Διοσκοῦς f. of Heras 12 54, 63.
 Δωρόθεος f. of Python 15 40.
 — f. of Besarion 21 53.
 — s. of Gemellus 15 74.
 — 15 80.
- Εἰρήνη d. of Pausirion 21 25.
 — (Ἰρ.) 21 43.
 *Ἐκαπλάς s. of Severus 21 27.
 Ἐργεῦς f. of Horus 12 80.
 Ἐρμίνος, sailor, 21 66.
 Εὐάγγελος f. of Posis 07 [14], 15, 16, 26, 30.
 Εὐδαίμων f. of Ptolemais 21 1.
 — s. of Callimachus 07 19, 24 (bis), 31.
 Εὐήμερος, ex-archon, br. of Apollodorus 07 13.
 — f. of Heron 07 40, 44, 48, 50, 51.
 Εὐπορίων, linen-weaver, 21 34.
 Εὐφράντιος 15 64.
 Ε[17 1.
- *Ζάνις f. of Pebas 12 112.
 Ζωῖλος f. of Athenodorus 12 109.
 — f. of Stoys 12 119.
- Ἡραῖς d. of Diogenes and Dioscor[21 64.
 Ἡρακλᾶς, lead-worker, s. of Apollos 12 32, 131.
 — πραγματευτής of Theonilla, 21 25.
 — 15 27.
 Ἡρακλείδης s. of Anelaus 07 56.
 — (another) 07 56.
 — 21 73.
 Ἡράκλειος f. of Harpikos and Soterichus, s. of Harpikos 12 52, 68, 147, 152.
 — f. of Pathotes 12 42.
 — f. of Stoys 12 148, 179.
 — 15 62.
 Ἡράμμων f. of .m. onion 21 18.
 Ἡράς f. of Horus, s. of Dioscorus 12 54
 — f. of Nicostratus 12 115.
 — f. of Paapis 21 67.
 — 15 23.

- Ἡρώδης, strategus of Mendesian nome, 11 43, [54].
 *Ἡρων s. of Euhemerus 07 40, 44, 48, 50, 51.
- Θαῆσις w. of Aphynchius 21 14.
 Θάις d. of Nicanor 21 38.
 *Θαλαμηγός f. of ... apion 07 56.
 Θαυβάριον d. of Sarapam(m)on 21 16.
 Θεοδότη 18 3.
 Θεοδώρα w. of Am(m)onius 21 56.
 Θεόδωρος f. of Hatres 12 111.
 — f. of Isidorus 15 68.
 — f. of Justus 20 8, 23.
 Θεοκλής 15 23.
 Θερμούτιον 21 13.
 Θέων, ἐκδοχεύς 21 62.
 — (?) πολιτεύμενος 18 8.
 — f. of Ambrosius 15 71.
 — f. of Comatilla 21 63.
 — f. of Taamois 21 44.
 — s. of Romaeus 12 97, 165.
 — 23 vs. i. 16, 19.
 Θεωνίλλα 21 26.
 Θεωνίνος s. of Archibius 21 41.
 *Θηβίς f. of Melas 21 20.
 Θώνιος, priest, s. of Nicanor 21 45.
 — f. of ... ris 21 61.
 — s. of Agathus 15 54.
- Ἰερακίων, attendant 19 3.
 Ἰέραξ s. of Silvanus 15 48.
 Ἰουλιανή: Ἄμα Ἰ. See VII (c).
 Ἰούδοτος, chartularius, s. of Theodoros 20 7, 20, 23.
 Ἰοίδωρος, f. of Adrastus 12 58, 153, 181.
 — f. of Damarion 11 44.
 — s. of Amarantus 07 19 (bis), 26.
 — s. of Ateis 12 56.
 — s. of Colluthus 15 75.
 — s. of Sozon 15 72.
 — s. of Theodoros 15 68.
 — 11 76.
 — 21 71.
 Ἰσχυρίων 07 19, 24 (bis).
 Ἰωάννης 20 22.
 Ἰωσήφ 18 3.
- Καισάριος: Φλάουιος Κ., consul, 08 5.
 Καλλίμαχος f. of Eudaemon 07 19, 24.
 Καλλίστρατος f. of Didyme 21 36.
 Κάστωρ f. of Demetria 21 33.
 *Κεπάρις f. of Horus 12 84.
 Κεφαλᾶς f. of Harpaesis 12 129, 170.
 — s. of Amoles 12 92.
 — s. of Ptolemaeus 12 71.

- Κεφαλ[: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Κ., f. of Taermias 21 60.
 Κλαύδιος: Τιβέριος Κλ. Κεφαλ[, f. of Taermias 21 60.
 Κολλούθης s. of Semthoanes 12 40, 138.
 Κολλούθιος f. of Isidorus 15 75.
 — 15 42.
 Κομανός f. of Haryothes 12 37.
 *Κοματίλλα, d. of Theon, w. of Olympio[21 53.
 Κόμων 15 70.
 Κοπρής s. of Pasis 15 58.
 Κορνήλια 21 71.
 Κορνήλιος f. of Belles 15 56.
 *Κορυμβάς 24 5, 8.
 Κόσμος, epitropos(?), 11 [74], 76.
 Κράσσοι: Μάλλιος Κ., dioecetes, 11 41, 43.
 Κρόνιος s. of Ariston 15 73.
 — 15 65.
 Κρονίων 15 81.
 Κύριλλος 21 24.
 Κύρος 16 19.
 *Κωμαστής f. of Dios 21 19.
- *Μάξα(s?) 21 13.
 Μακρόβιος 08 3.
 Μάλλιος Κράσσοι, dioecetes, 11, 41, 43.
 Μαμερτεῖνος: Πετράνιος Μ., Prefect, 13 21.
 *Μαξιμάς s. of Timon 21 4.
 Μαρκία 24 4.
 Μέλας f. of .m. ., s. of Thebis 21 20.
 Μενέλαος, syndic, 07 4, [5], 20, 27, 30, 32, 35, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53.
 Μηῶς, οἰκέτης 20 6.
 — public tabularius, 19 3, 4.
 *Μόις, fishmonger(?), s. of Mois 12 62; 183.
 — f. of Mois 12 62, 183.
- Νεμεσιανός: Πακτουμήμιος Ν., ex-hypomnemato-graphus, 07 29, 31, 35, [36], 42, 43, 44, 47, 52, 58.
 — s. of Dionysius 15 46.
 Νεμεσίνος: Φλάουιος Ν., oeconomus, 08 7, 12.
 Νεχθεμβής s. of Athenodorus 12 110.
 Νικάνωρ f. of Thais 21 38.
 — f. of Thonius 21 45.
 Νικόστρατος s. of Heras 12 115.
 Νίκων, priest, 21 17.
 Ν[f. of Dioscorus 21 61.
- Ξενικός s. of Troilus 21 12.
- *Ολόκαλος, f. of Holocalus 12 73.
 — s. of Holocalus 12 73.
 *Ολυμπιο[h. of Comatilla 21 63.
 *Ονής, florist, 21 5.

- **Οννώφρις*, f. of Aristippus and Petechon, s. of Aristippus 12 38, 45, 136, 140, 174.
— f. of Pallaus 12 155.
— s. of Alexander 15 69.
— s. of Amoles 12 93.
Οση (), f. of Petesuchus and s. of Stotoetis 12 44.
Ουάφρης s. of Parmenius 12 91, 168, 190.
Ούλλπιος Απολλώνιος 15 83.
- Παῖπις* f. of Heras 21 67.
Πάεις f. of Paeis 12 100.
— s. of Paeis 12 100.
Παῖσις s. of Hatres 15 35.
**Παθείκος* f. of Panetbeuis 12 118, 130.
Παθώτης s. of Heraclius 12 42.
Πάσις f. of Hakoris 12 182.
— f. of Saras 12 108.
— f. of Stoys 12 121.
Πακτουμήνιος Νεμεσιανός, s. of Apollon, ex-hypomnematographus, 07 29, (31), (35), [(36)], 42, (43), 44, 47, 52, 58.
**Παλλάς*, f. of Peteemmes and Horus 12 50, 144.
— s. of Onnophris 12 155.
**Παναῖς* f. of Stoeimes 12 106.
Πανερβεῖς f. of Panetbeuis 12 70, 146.
— f. of Petosiris 12 116.
— f. of Sosas 12 104.
— s. of Chakreu[12 184.
— s. of Panetbeuis 12 70, 146.
— s. of Patheikos 12 118, 150.
— s. of Semth() 12 85.
Παννούθιος: Αὔρηλιος Π., goldsmith, s. of Pa.no. ius 20 11, 21, [24].
Παπονῶς s. of Alexander 12 122.
Παρίων s. of Serenus 15 31, 60.
— 15 36.
**Παρμένιος* f. of Ouaphres 12 91, 168, 190.
— f. of Semthion 12 127, 132.
Πᾶσις f. of Copres 15 58.
Πατερμῶντιος, parchment maker, 21 68.
— f. of Amoitias 21 29.
— f. of Philosarapis 21 58.
— f. of Sarapion 21 74.
— 21 42.
Πατερμῶντις s. of Dionysius 21 52.
**Πατιῆσις* f. of Agathos Daemon 15 44.
**Πατνα(α)ῖτις* f. of Soterichus 12 83, 159.
Πατρικία 16 7.
Πανῆς d. of Anicetus 15 79.
Πανσιρίων f. of Irene 21 25.
**Παχός* s. of Cronius 15 65.
**Παυῶντις* s. of Polydeuces 21 6.
Πα. νο. ιος f. of Aurelius Papnuthius 20 11.
Πεβᾶς f. of Aphynchius 21 14.
- **Πεβαῖς* s. of Zannis 12 112.
**Πεκαῦ* 21 24.
Πεκῶσις s. of Dionysius (?) 15 52.
**Πετεεμμῆ(ς)?* s. of Pallaus 15 20, 144.
**Πετεῆτις* s. of Somphis 12 61, 150.
Περευου() f. of Semtheus 12 77, 79.
— s. of Harontotes 12 81.
Περεσουχος s. of *Οση* () 12 44.
Περεχῶν s. of Onnophris 12 46, 175.
Περοβάσις 15 78.
Πεποσειρις f. of Horus 12 95.
— s. of Panetbeuis 12 116, 169.
Πέτρων f. of Serapion 21 65.
Πετρώνιος Μαμερτεῖνος, Prefect, 13 21.
Πετῶνις f. of Chatylis 12 117.
Πνήφης s. of Diodorus 21 3.
Πολυδεύκης 21 6.
Πόσις s. of Didymus 07 56.
— s. of Euangelus 07 [14], 15, 16, 25, 30.
Πραῦς 19 2.
Πτολεμαῖος, priest of Hermes, 21 37.
— f. of Cephalas 12 71.
Πτολεμαῖς (or -μαῖς?) 21 46.
Πτολεμαῖς d. of Eudaemon 21 1.
Πτόλλις s. of Philo 12 53, 151.
Πύθων s. of Dorotheus 15 40.
— 15 80.
- **Ρουφ[* 20 5.
**Ρωμαῖος* f. of Theon 12 97, 165.
- Σαλούστιος* 15 85.
**Σαρακοῦς* s. of Sotas 12 103.
Σαραπάμμων f. of Apollinarian 21 57.
— f. of Thaubarion 21 6.
Σαραπά(ς)? 23 vs. i 21.
Σαραπίων, cook, s. of Paternutius 21 74.
— physician, 21 11.
— schoolmaster, 21 48.
— f. of Diogenes 15 77.
Σαραπόδωρος f. of Diodorus 21 30.
Σαρᾶς s. of Pais 12 108.
Σαρμάτης s. of Horion 21 39.
Σεκουῖνδος (-τος) f. of Apollonius 21 51.
Σεμβεῖς f. of Harpaesis (?) and s. of Petenu() 12 77, 79.
— f. of Harpsemis 12 107.
— f. of Horus 12 89.
— f. of Semtheus 12 94.
— s. of Horus 12 75, 157.
— s. of Horus s. of Ceparis (same as last?) 12 84, 186.
— s. of Semtheus 12 94.
**Σεμβῶν* s. of Parmenius 12 177, 132.

- **Σεμθομοῖς* f. of Hatres 12 114.
— f. of Semthoemois 12 161.
— s. of Haryotes 12 163.
— s. of Semthoemois 12 113, 161.
**Σεμθονάης* f. of Colluthes 12 40, 138.
— s. of Tryphon 12 35, 55.
Σεμθονα . . . f. of Horus 12 126.
Σεμθ() f. of Panetbeuis 12 85.
Σεουῆρος, builder, 21 35.
— f. of Hecaplas 21 27.
Σεπτίμια Σερῆνα 21 69.
Σεραπίων s. of Petron 21 65.
Σερῆνα: Σεπτίμια Σ. 21 69.
Σερῆνος, ex-hypomnematographus, 07 14, 16, 18.
— presbyter, 19 2.
— f. of Parion 15 31, 60.
— 17 17.
— 23, vs. i 13.
— 24 6.
Σιλβανός, κρηματικός, 21 7.
— f. of Anubion 15 86.
— f. of Hierax 15 48.
— s. of Besas 15 25.
Σισοῖς f. of Stoeimes 12 105.
**Σίφαρος* 21 42.
Σοφία d. of Agathos Daemon 21 9.
**Στοείμης* s. of Panaus 12 106.
— s. of Sisois 12 105.
Στοτοῆτις f. of *Οση* (), and s. of Stoys 12 44.
— s. of Horus 12 43.
Στῶνις, κηρ(), s. of Stoys 12 120.
— f. of Horus, and s. of Heraclius 12 148, 179.
— f. of Psentaes 12 65.
— f. of Stotoetis 12 44.
— f. of Stoys 12 120.
— s. of Hatres 12 60, 154.
— s. of Pais 12 121.
— s. of Zoilus 12 119.
Σύρα 21 13.
Σύρος 15 33, 76.
**Σχολαστικός*, count, 16 19.
Σώζων f. of Isidorus 15 72.
**Σῶμφις* f. of Peteetis 12 61, 150.
Σωσᾶς s. of Panetbeuis 12 104.
Σώτας s. of Philosophus 21 40.
Σωτᾶς f. of Saracous 12 103.
Σωτήριχος s. of Heraclius 12 52, 69, 147, 152.
— s. of Patnautis 12 83, 159.
- Τααμίς* d. of Theon 21 44.
**Τααρῶσις* 11 55.
**Ταερμίτις* d. of Tiberius Claudius Cephal[21 60.
Ταυρίνος 08 6.
Τερεῦς, ἀλέτισσα, 21 31.
- Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Κεφαλ[* f. of Taermias 21 60.
Τίμων f. of Maximas 21 4.
Τιτιανός: Φλάμιος Τ., Prefect, 13 3, 13, 24, 30, 36.
Τροῖλος. See *Τρωῖλος*.
Τρόφων f. of Semthoemes 12 35, 55.
Τρωῖλος (Τροῖλ.) f. of Xenicus 21 12.
- Φαμῆς* s. of Apollonius 12 88.
Φῆβις, elder, s. of Hatres 12 59.
— f. of Aspheus 12 64.
**Φίλαιος* 08 3.
Φιλόξενος, ex-archon, 07 39.
Φιλοσαράπις s. of Paternutius 21 58.
Φιλόσοφος f. of Sotas 21 40.
Φίλων f. of Ptollis 12 53, 151.
Φιλ. [21 56.
Φλό(ο)νιος Ἀπίων (III) 20 4.
— *Ἄττικός*, consul, 08 5.
— *Καισάριος*, consul, 08 5.
— *Νεμεσίος*, oeconomus, 08 7, 12.
— *Τιτιανός*, Prefect, 13 13, 24, 30, 36.
- **Χακρευ[* f. of Panetbeuis 12 184.
Χατύλις s. of Aristippus 12 49, 143, 178.
— s. of Petoys 12 117.
- Ψεντουῶντις* f. of Psenchonsis 10 29.
Ψενταῆς f. of Stoys and Horus 12 65.
Ψενχῶντις s. of Psenetuotis 10 29.
- **Ωρίων* f. of Sarmates 21 39.
— s. of Didymus 21 54.
— (-είων) 10 2.
**Ωρος, ἀναγνωστής*, 21 10.
— f. of Apollon 12 82, 160, 188.
— f. of Harbaites 12 102.
— f. of Hatres 12 87.
— f. of Semtheus 12 75, 157, 186.
— f. of Semtheus, and s. of Ceparis (same as last?) 12 84.
— f. of Stotoetis 12 43.
— s. of Ergeus 12 80.
— s. of Heras 12 54.
— s. of Pallaus 12 51, 145.
— s. of Petosiris 12 95, 169.
— s. of Psentaes 12 65.
— s. of Semtheus 12 89.
— s. of Semthona. . . . 12 126.
— s. of Stoys 12 149, 180.
- Ἰαπίων* s. of Thalamegus 07 56.
Ἰδης δ και Διογένης 17 14.
Ἰδωρος f. of . . . 07 56.

...νος 15 39.
]λας, ὑποδέκτης, 08 6.
...ονον d. of Herammon 21 18.

.μ. . d. of Melas 21 20.
]οφος, ἐκκλησιέδικος, 19 2.
...ρις s. of Thonius 21 61.

VII. GEOGRAPHICAL

(a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

Ἀλεξάνδρεια 08 1, 3, 9 11 49 20 19.
Ἀμμωνιακός: ἐλαίον *A.* 23 vs. iii 22 *et al.*
Ἄνω Κυνοπολίτης. See *Κυνοπολίτης*.
Ἄνω [(nome) 15 70.
Ἀπηνιάτου τοπαρχία 22 25.
Ἀπολλωνοπολίτης 15 48.
Ἀρκαδία 18 1.
Ἀραιοίτης 15 50.
Διοπολίτης Κάτω 15 58.
Ἐλεαρχία 15 45, 64, 65, 78.
Ἐρμπολίτης 15 81.
Ἡρακλεοπολίτης 15 47.
Θηβαίς 09 1.
Θμοισεφῶ τοπαρχία 22 71.
Κάτω τοπαρχία 22 82.
Κυνοπολίτης 15 9; Ἄνω *K.* 15 29.
Λεοντοπολίτης 15 38.
Λιβὸς τοπαρχία 22 5.

Λυκοπολίτης 15 25, 37.
Μαρεωτικός: φοίνικες *M.* 24 28, 33.
Μέγα Χωρίον 15 27.
Μενδήσιος (νομός) 11 43.
Μέση τοπαρχία 22 46.
Μετηλίτης 15 33, 76.
Νειλοπολίτης 15 85.
*Οασίς 09 1.
*Οασίτης 23 *rt.* 7 *et saepe*.
*Οξυρυγχίτης (νομός) 08 2, 10, 13 15 5, 32, 35, 52,
54, 61, 62, 79 20 12, 25.
*Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις 20 5, 24.
*Οξυρύγχων πόλις 10 [2].
Προσωπίτης 15 42, 67.
Σιρητικός: ἐλαίον *S.* 23 vs. iii 21 *et al.*
Υψηλῆς 15 23.
Φθενότης 15 57.

(b) VILLAGES, ETC.

(Oxyrhynchite unless otherwise noted)

Ἀδαίου 22 27.
Ἀρταπάτου 22 62.
Δωσιθέου 22 93.
Ἡρακλείδου ἐποίκιον 22 17.
Ἡρακλείον, τό 22 67.
Θμοισεφῶβθις 22 30.
Θῶλθις (Lower toparchy) 22 84.
— (Thmoisepho toparchy) 22 76.
Ἰβίων (Heraclaeopolite) 12 72.
Ἰβίων Ἀμμωνίου 22 96.
Ἰέμη 22 46.
Ἰστρου 22 50.
Κερκεθῦρις 22 14.
Κερκεῖρα 22 56.
Κερκεῖ 11 15.
Κεσμοῦχις 22 79.
Κολλινταθύρ (Heracl.) 12 74, 156, 185.
Λευκίου 22 13.
Μαστιγοφόρου 22 57.
Μουχινάξαρ 22 22.
Μουχινταλή 22 86.
Μοῦχις (Heracl.) 12 99.
Νεσμείμυς 22 1.

Νόμου ἐποίκιον 22 47.
*Ογου (Heracl.) 12 96, 164.
Παεῖμυς 22 16.
Πακερκή 22 32.
Πανεύει 22 8.
Παῶμυς 22 74.
Πεενῶ 22 57.
Πέλα 22 19.
Πετενοῦρις 22 61.
Πέτινη 22 49.
Πιναῦα 11 9.
Πισομποῦς 22 38.
Πηλεῶ 22 65.
Πυργῶτος (Heracl.) 12 90, 167, 189.
Σαραπίωνος Χαιρήμονος 22 42.
Σατύρου 22 29.
Σεναῶ 22 21.
Σενοκάμυς 22 11.
Σενοπῶθις 22 63.
Σεντώ 22 60.
Σερῦφις 20 12, 25 22 6.
Σέσφθα 22 90.
Σεφῶ 22 78.

VII. GEOGRAPHICAL

Σιναρύ 22 92.
Σούις 22 96.
Σύρων 22 9.
Τααμπεμού 22 36.
Τααμπιτεί 22 54.
Τακολκεῖλις 22 68.
Τακόνα 22 [95].
Ταλαῶ 22 83.
Τανάις 22 52.
Τέκιμυ (Heracl.) 12 34, 135, 173.
Τεξεί 22 64.

Τερῶθις 22 26.
Τῆις 22 72.
Τόκα 22 66.
Τυχινφάγων 22 87.
Φθῶχις 22 28.
Φοβῶου 22 39.
Ψῶβθις (Eastern toparchy) 22 34.
— (Middle toparchy) 22 59.
— (Lower toparchy) 22 89.
*Ωφίς 22 91.

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

ἅγια Θέκλα, church of, 19 2. See also VIII.
ἅμα Ἰουλιανή: τὸ μοναστήριον *A.* 'I. 19 6.

Νεῖλος. See VIII.
Νικανοριανή οὐσία 10 12.

VIII. RELIGION

ἅγιος: ἅγια Θέκλα 19 2; ἅγ. ἐκκλησία 19 3; ἅγιος
(subst.) 19 5; ἅγ. μυστήρια 19 5.
ἅμα Ἰουλιανή: τὸ μοναστήριον *A.* 'I., see VII (c).
ἅμμων 15 26, 34, 84.
ἅπόλλων 15 26, 49.
ἅφροδίτη 15 49.
δεσπότης (Christian) 20 1.
Διόνυσος 25 30.
Διάσκουροι 15 22.
ἐκκλησιέδικος. See IX.
Ἐρμῆς 15 28 21 37.
Θέκλα: ἡ ἅγια Θ. See ἅγιος.
Θεός (Christian) 20 [1].
ιερεὺς 21 17, 22, 45; ἰ. Ἐρμού 21 37.

Ἰησοῦς 20 1.
Ἰουλιανή: ἅμα 'I. 19 6.
Ἰσάρι(ο)ν 15 82, 87.
κύριος (Christian) 20 1.
μοναστήριον 19 6, [8].
μυστήριον: τὰ ἅγια μ. (Christian) 19 5.
Νεῖλος: ὁ ἱερώτατος *N.* 09 10.
οἰκονόμος (Christian) 19 3.
Πόντος 15 43.
πρεσβύτερος (Christian) 19 2, 3.
Πύθιος 15 37, 41.
σωτήρ (Christian) 20 [1].
Χρησμός 15 39.

IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

ἀγορανόμος 07 57.
ἄρχων: ἄρχων 07 7, 17, 53; ἄρξας 07 12, 39.
βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς 09 6.
βιβλιοθήκη [τῶν ἐγκτήσεων] 11 19.
βιβλιοφυλάκιον τῶν ἐγκτ. 11 47, 50.
βιβλιοφυλ(ακ) 11 13.
βοηθός 08 7, [10], 13 (bis).
βουλευτής 17 7, 8, [11], [16].
βουλή 17 16.
γραμματεὺς: βασιλικὸς γρ. 09 6.
διοικητής: Μάλλιος Κράσσος γενόμενος δ. 11 42.
ἐκδικία 19 4.
ἐκκλησιέδικος 19 2.
ἐξάκτωρ 08 1.
ἐπαρχος: ἔ. ἀνώνης Ἀλεξανδρείας 08 1, 8.
ἐπιμελητής 07 20.

ἡγεμονεύειν: Φλάουιος Τιτιανὸς ἡγεμονεύσας 13 3,
24, 30; Βαιηρὸς Βλαστιανὸς ἡγ. 13 10, 14, 19,
[27], 32.
ἡγεμονικός 07 6.
ἡγεμών 07 2, 5, 8, 12, 42, 52, 58.
κάτοικος: ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων, see XII.
κλήρουχος: κ.(?) μάχιμων 14 ii 23. See also XII.
κόμης 16 19.
μάχιμος: .. κληρούχων(?) μ., 14 ii 23. See also XII.
οἰκονόμος 08 7, 9, 12 (bis).
πατρικίος 20 [4].
πολιτεύομενος 18 8.
πρεσβύτερος 12 59.
πρύτανης 17 5.
πρώξιμος 19 4.
σκρινιαρίος 08 13.

στρατηγεῖν 11 46.
στρατηγός 11 20(?), 32, 43, 54.
στρατιά: ἀπό στρ. 08 6.
σύμμαχος 19 4.
συνδικία 07 6, 12, 45, 48.
σύνδικος 07 3, 6, 11, 13, 16, 18, 20, 26, 27, 30, 32,
35, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53.
ταβουλάριος: δημόσιος τ. 19 3.
τοποτηρεῖν: τ. τὰ μέρη ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας 18 1.

ὕδροφυλακία 10 20.
ὑπατία: ὑπ. Φλαουίων Καισαρίου καὶ Ἀπτικοῦ τῶν
λαμπρ. 08 5.
ὑπατος: ἀπό ὑπάτων 20 [4].
ὑποδέκτης 08 6.
ὑπομνηματογράφος 07 14, 16, 19, 29, 31, 35, 36, 43,
44, 47, 52, 59 17 4.
χαρτουλάριος 20 8, 20, 23.
χρηματιστής(?) 11 49.

X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

ἀλέτιστα 21 31.
ἀλιεύς 21 2.
ἀναγνωστής 21 10.
ἀργυροκόπος 19 10.
βαφεύς 21 59.
βάφιστα 21 47.
γνάφισ(σ)α 25 iii 17.
γραμματοδιδάσκαλος 21 48.
διδάσκαλος 25 ii 16.
διφθεράριος 21 68.
ἐκδοχεύς 21 62.
ἠπητής: χειρωνάξιον -ων 12 36, 137. See also XII.
θυροῦρός (ἦ, in convent) 19 8.
ιατρός 21 11.
ἰχθυ(οπαύλης?) 12 62, 183.
κεραμεύς 12 76, 98, 158, 166, 187 21 55. See also XII.
κηρυματικός 21 7.
κηρ() 12 120.

λαχανῶς 21 49.
λινόφυος 21 34.
μάγειρος 21 74.
μολιβ(ουργός) 12 32.
ναύκληρος 15 49.
ναυτικός 21 66.
οἰκέτης 20 6.
οἰκοδόμος 21 35.
ὀηλάτης 25 iii 19.
πλινθευτής 12 100. See also XII.
πλύ(ν)τρια 19 9.
πορθμάριος (πορθμ.) 21 8.
πραγματευτής 21 26, 43, 56.
προθμάριος. See πορθμάριος.
στεφανοπλόκος 21 5; χειρωνάξιον -ων(?) 12 139.
See also XII.
φλουμάρης 21 32.
χρυσοχός 20 12.

XI. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS

(a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

ἀρουρα 10 10 11 4, 6, 7, 10, 12.
ἀρτάβη 08 4, 12 (bis), 13 (bis) 15 1 et saepe 21 1
et saepe.
λίτρα 20 19.

μυριαίων 22 1 et saepe.
τάλαντον 22 1 et saepe.
χοινικ(ι)αῖος 24 12.

(b) COINS

δηάριος 21 1 et saepe.
δραχμή 07 1 passim, 3 (bis) 11 [21], 30, 31 12 5,
[7], 11, 14, 16, 20, 27, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38 14 2 et
saepe 23 rt. i 3 et saepe.
δύβολοι 12 9 et saepe 13 20, 37 14 ii 4, 8, 9 23
rt. i 4 et saepe.
ἡμιβέλιον 12 14, 19, 22, 23, 25, 31, 127, 133 13 5,
7, 16, 27, 33, 38 14 ii 5, 6, 9, 14 23 rt. i 6
et saepe.
νομισμάτιον 18 4, 5, 6.

δβολός 12 19 13 14, 38 14 i 5 23 rt. i 3 et saepe.
πεντώβολον 12 14, 20, 31, 128 13 11, 27 14 ii 17.
τάλαντον 07 2 (bis), 3 (bis), 5 11 23, 31, 35, 57
14 5 et saepe 21 3 et saepe.
τετρώβολον 12 23, 25, 127, 131, 133 13 7, 16, 33
14 ii 6 23 rt. i 10 et al.
τριώβολον 12 8, 32, 33, 131 13 5 14 ii 11 23 rt. iii
15.
χαλκοῦς 13 5, 7, 14, 16, 20, 27, 33, 37 14 ii 5, 8, 9,
12.

XII. TAXES

XII. TAXES

ἀγορανομία 14 ii 21.
ἀνώνα 08 1, 9.
ἀργυρικά 12 7, 34, 123, 134, 171, 172, 189, 191.
ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων 14 iii 2, 19.
ἀρχ[] 14 ii 21.
γεωμετρία 14 iii 3, 20.
γραφεῖον 14 ii 19.
διοικήσεις 14 ii 5, iii 6.
εἶδος 14 ii 10, 24, iii 11, 17.
εἰκοσιδραχμία 14 iii 1, 18.
ἐννόμιον 14 ii 16, iii 15.
ἐξαδραχμία ὄνων 14 ii 15, iii 13.
ἠπητής: χειρωνάξιον ἠπητῶν 12 36, 137.
ἱερατικός: ἰ. συντάξεις 09 5; -κά 14 ii 9, iii 10.
κεραμεύων 12 76, 98, 158, 166, 187.
κληρούχων(?) μαχίμων 14 ii 23.
λαογραφία 12 36, 41, 42, 57, 64, 76, 98, 101, 137, 158,
159, 166, 187 14 ii 7, iii 8.
μνημονεῖον 14 ii 19.

ὀθονηρά 14 ii 11, iii 16.
πελωχικόν 14 ii 22.
πλινθευτής: χειρωνάξιον πλινθευτῶν 12 100.
προσοδικός: φόρος προσοδικῶν (ἐδάφων) 14 ii 6,
iii 7.
στεφανοπλόκος: χειρωνάξιον -ων 12 139.
συναλλαγματογραφία: τέλος 14 ii 12, iii 12.
σύνταξις: ἱερατικαὶ σ. 09 5.
τέλος: τ. συναλλαγματογραφίας 14 ii 12, iii 12.
τεσσαρακονταδραχμία 14 iii 1, 18.
τιμὴ πυροῦ 12 4, 7, 32, 125, 133.
τοκαδεῖα: τ. χηρῶν(?) καὶ ὀρνίθων 14 ii 13.
ὕκη 14 ii 14, iii 14.
φόρος προσοδικῶν (ἐδάφων) 14 ii 6, iii 7.
χειρωνάξιον: γερδίων 12 41(?) 14 ii 17; ἠπητῶν 12
36, 137; πλινθευτῶν 12 100; στεφανοπλόκων(?)
12 139.
χηματικόν 14 ii 8, iii 9.

XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

ἀβάλλης 24 40.
ἀγγεῖδιον 24 46.
ἄγιος: ἡ ἅγια Θέκλα, see VII (c) and VIII; ἄγ.
ἐκκλησία, ἄγιος (subst.), see VIII.
ἀγνοεῖν 07 6.
ἀγνός 07 3 17 17.
ἀγορανομία. See XII.
ἀγορανόμος. See IX.
ἀγωγή 15 [1], [3], [7], [12], 24, 25, 28, [30], 32, 34,
37, 39, 43, 49, 53, 55, 61, 63, 82, 84, 87 20 [7].
ἀδελφή 16 7.
ἀδελφικός 18 3.
ἀδελφός 07 13 12 51, 60, 66, 69, 145 18 [3].
ἀδάλειπτος: -τως 20 13.
ἄδολος 09 8.
ἀθήρα 23 vs. iii 19.
αἰδέσιμος 18 8.
αἰρεῖν 07 45 17 2, 20.
αἰτεῖν 09 7 16 10, 15.
αἰτία 19 4.
αἰών: μία ἀπ' αἰώνων 07 12.
αἰώνιος 08 [5].
ἀλέτιστα. See X.
ἀλήθεια 19 5.
ἀληθής: τὸ ἀληθές 19 5.
ἀλιεύς. See X.
ἀλλά 07 10 10 7 20 15.
ἀλλαχόθεν 10 7.

ἄλλος 07 5, 6, 9, 15, 18, 28, 33, 35, 55 12 47, 48, 142
14 ii 4, 16 15 48, 50, 54, 58, [68], [69], 70, 71,
[72], 73, 74, 75, 76, 81, 83, 85, 86.
ἀλλότριος 07 30.
ἄλς 23 vs. iii 10.
ἄμμα 24 44.
ἄμουλλον. See next.
ἄμυλον (ἄμουλλ.) 23 vs. iv 25.
ἀμφότερος 20 12.
ἀναγκαῖος 07 9, [17], 36, 39.
ἀνάγνωσις 17 8.
ἀναγνωστής. See X.
ἀναδέχεσθαι 20 10, 24.
ἀνάλωμα 23 rt. i 1.
ἀναπληροῦν 09 7.
ἀναφέρειν 07 5, 8, 42 08 5.
ἀναφορά 08 [3], 6, 9.
ἀναχωρητικόν 17 15.
ἀνεψία 16 2.
ἀνήρ 20 7.
ἄνισος: -ως 07 27.
ἀνώνα. See XII.
ἀνοίγειν 19 8.
ἀντί 22 101.
ἀντιγεοῦχος 20 6.
ἀντιγράφειν 09 3, 11 11 54, 75.
ἀντίγραφον 07 13 09 2(?), 5(?), 8(?), 10(?) 11 41
17 2(?).

ἀντίτυπον 08 7.
 ἄνω: see VII (a); ἀνώτερος 20 21.
 ἀξιόλογος: -άτατος 07 48.
 ἄξιος 07 12 11 22.
 ἀξιοῦν 07 13, 14 10 23 18 [8].
 ἀπαιτεῖν 07 52 (bis).
 ἀπαξιαπλῶς 07 21, 41, 45.
 ἄπας 07 6.
 ἀπερίλυτος 11 48.
 ἀπέρχεσθαι 19 6, 7.
 ἀπέχθεια 07 22.
 ἀπλοῦς 20 20.
 ἀποδιδόναι 09 5 10 21 11 35, [51] 19 10.
 ἀπολαμβάνειν 11 69.
 ἀπὸ λειψίς 20 18.
 ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι 20 14.
 ἀποσπᾶν 10 11.
 ἀποστέλλειν 08 [3].
 ἀποχή 08 13, 14, 15 (bis).
 ἀποχωρεῖν 19 8.
 ἀπραγμοσύνη 10 4.
 ἀπράγμων: -μόνως 18 5.
 ἀργυρέας 19 9, 10.
 ἀργυρικά. See XII.
 ἀργυροκόπος. See X.
 ἀρδεία 09 2.
 ἀριθμητικόν: ἄ. κατοίκων, see XII.
 ἀριθμός 07 9, 13.
 ἄριστος: κρέας ἄ. 23 vs. iii 15; σελέγνια ἄ. ibid. 18.
 ἄρξας. See IX.
 ἄρουρα. See XI (a).
 ἀρτάβη. See XI (a).
 ἄρτος 24 3, 9, 11(?), 31, 32.
 ἄρτυμα 23 rt. iii 9 *et saepe*.
 ἀρχεσθαι 07 25.
 ἀρχή 07 50.
 ἀρχων. See IX.
 ἀρχω() 12 78.
 ἀσφάλεια 11 34.
 ἀσφαλίζεσθαι 07 13, 31, 38, 48, 52.
 ἀτρεῖον 06 6.
 αὐγουστος. See II.
 αὐθαίρετος 20 9.
 αὐθεντικός 08 14, 15.
 αὐριον 07 25.
 αὐτοκράτωρ. See II.
 αὐτός 07 7 10 16, 21 11 [9], 11, 36, 47 13 9 16
 9 (bis), 14, 17 (bis) 18 3, [8] 19 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 20
 7, 9, 13, 14 (bis), 17, 18; ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό 11 31 22
 101(?).
 βασιλεία. See II.
 βασιλικός: β. γῆ 10 10, 17; β. γραμματεῦς. See IX.
 βάτελλα 23 rt. iv 15.

βαυκάλιον 24 29.
 βαφεύς. See X.
 βάφισσα. See X.
 βιβλίδιον 11 44, 55.
 βιβλιοθήκη: β. τῶν ἐγκτήσεων, see IX.
 βιβλιοφυλάκιον: β. τῶν ἐγκτήσεων, see IX.
 βιβλιοφυλάκ(ακ). See IX.
 βοηθεῖν 10 23.
 βοηθός. See IX.
 βομβάλ(ιον) (= βομβάριον?) 23 rt. vi 17 *et saepe*.
 βορρᾶς 06 8.
 βοῦλεσθαι 07 38, 45 10 8, 14 11 56, 67 18 5.
 βουλευτής. See IX.
 βουλή. See IX.
 βραδύς: βράδιον 19 7.
 γαμβρός 21 73.
 γεουχεῖν 07 59 20 [4].
 γεωμετρία. See XII.
 γῆ: βασιλική γ. 10 10, 17.
 γί(γ)νεσθαι 07 8, 12, 14, 16, 18, 22, 29, 30, 31, 32
 (bis), 33, 36, 42, 44, 47, 52, 58 08 11 11 31, 41,
 45 12 13, 36, 39, 41, 98, 123, 124, 125, 133, 137,
 158, 166, 171, 187, 191 14 ii 5, 24, iii 4, 17, 21, 22
 16 1, 3, 18 17 3, 10 18 4 22 3, 23, 44, 68, 69, 80,
 99, 104.
 γι(γ)νώσκω 08 [3].
 γλυκοέλαιον 24 4(?), 6.
 γνάφισ(σ)α. See X.
 γνώμη 20 9.
 γονεῖς 07 36.
 γονικός 18 4.
 γράμμα: -τα 11 74.
 γραμματεῦς: βασιλικός γ., see IX.
 γραμματοδιδάσκαλος. See X.
 γράφειν 11 31 16 8 20 20.
 γραφεῖον. See XII.
 γραφή 09 6 11 70.
 γυνή 21 8, 14, 24, 56, 63.

δάνειον 11 45, 48.
 δανειστής 11 39.
 δαπανᾶν 07 [16].
 δαπάνη 10 19.
 δεῖν 07 12, 30.
 δεσμός 24 10.
 δεσπότης 08 [5] 20 1 (see VIII), ibid. 2, 7.
 δεῦρο: μέχρι τοῦ δ. 07 45.
 δεύτερος 07 15, 25, 27 16 [16]; τὸ δεύτερον 07 10.
 δῆ 07 9.
 δηλονότι 16 7.
 δηλοῦν 08 11 11 45, [52], 72 13 2, [6], 12, 15, 23,
 [29].

δημόσιος: πλοῖον δ. 15 33, 40, 66; δ. ταβουλάριος
 19 3; δημοσία 07 4; δημοσί[] 11 62.
 δηνάριος. See XI (b).
 διάγειν 20 13.
 διαιρεῖν 07 7, 17, 33, 34, [35], 54, 55.
 διακέντησις(?) 08 7.
 διαλαλεῖν 07 9, 34.
 διάλυσις 16 [1], 3, 4, 7, [18].
 διαμνήσκεσθαι 07 7.
 διανύειν 07 7.
 διάσημος: -ότατος 07 2, 5, 8 08 [1], 9 17 6.
 διαταγή 23 rt. 8 *et saepe*.
 διατελεῖν 07 7.
 διαφθείρειν 10 15.
 διδάσκαλος. See X.
 δίδοναι 07 2, 23, 25, 28 (bis), 30, 31 16 3, 9, 12 (bis),
 13, 17.
 διευτυχεῖν 10 25 11 38.
 δίκαιος: τὸ δίκαιον (subst.) 11 46; κατὰ τὸ δικαίω-
 ταν 07 21.
 διοικεῖν 07 3, 11, 27, 48 09 4.
 διοίκησις 07 7 13 5(?), 34(?), [35(?)], 37(?), 38(?)
 14 ii 5, iii 6. (See also XII.)
 διοικητής. See IX.
 διασάκκιον 24 9, 34.
 διαχίλιοι 08 4, 12 (bis), 13 (bis).
 διφθεράριος. See X.
 δίχα 20 16.
 δοκεῖν 11 31.
 δοκιμάζειν 07 [5].
 δραχμή. See XI (b).
 δύναμις 19 5.
 δύνασθαι 07 46.
 δύο 07 7, 9, 10, 21, 22, 33, 34, 35, 46, 54 11 35 16
 8, 10 17 18.
 δώδεκα 07 9, 13.
 δωδεκάμηνος 13 7, 16.
 δωρεῖσθαι 18 9.
 εἰάν 07 46, 47 11 31, <32>, 35, 48, 51.
 εἰάν = ἄν 07 46.
 εἰαυτοῦ 07 47 18 [4].
 ἐγγράφειν 20 [21].
 ἐγγραφός: -ως 18 6, 9.
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι 20 10.
 ἐγγύη 20 20 (bis), 23.
 ἐγγύς 21 71.
 ἐγκρατής 18 4.
 ἐγκλησις: βιβλιοθήκη, βιβλιοφυλάκιον τῶν ἐ., see IX.
 ἔδαφος 09 2; φόρος προσοδικῶν ἐδάφων, see XII.
 ἐθέλειν 07 17, 23, 26, 28.
 εἶδεναι 07 48 09 6 16 7, 14, 18.
 εἶδος. See XII.
 εἴκοσι 07 49.

εἰκοσιδραχμία. See XII.
 εἰλαπίνη(?) (εἰλαπεν()) 23 vs. iii 13.
 εἰς 07 6; μία 07 11, 12, 30 16 9 20 19.
 εἰσάγειν 07 49.
 εἰσιδδόναι 07 1.
 εἰσέρχεσθαι 19 8.
 εἰσκομίζειν 08 3, 9.
 εἰσπράττειν 13 6, 15 14 iii 22.
 εἰσφέρειν 07 50, 51.
 ἔκαστος 07 52 16 3, 11.
 ἐκγί(γ)νεσθαι(?) 22 8, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 27, 41,
 49, 64, 65, 66, 67, 74, 75, 76, 79, 83, 94, 98.
 ἐκδικία. See IX.
 ἐκδιώκειν 10 9.
 ἐκδοχεύς. See X.
 ἐκείνος 07 23 19 10.
 ἐκκλησία. See VIII.
 ἐκκλησιέκδικος. See VIII.
 ἐκκρούειν 16 8.
 ἐκμισθόσθαι 10 17.
 ἐκούσιος 20 9.
 ἐκτιθέειν 07 38, 41, 42, 46, 49.
 ἐκτινεῖν 07 10.
 ἐκτοτε 07 44 11 46.
 ἐκφέρεσθαι 11 51.
 ἔλαιον 24 45; ἔ. Ἀμμωνιακόν 23 vs. iii 21 *et al.*; ἔ.
 Σιρητικόν ibid. 22 *et al.*
 ἐλαττονεῖν(?) 07 54.
 ἐνδέκατος 08 [4], 10.
 ἐνδοξος 20 8, 11, 13, 17, 18.
 ἔσκεν 20 16.
 ἐνθα 20 17.
 ἐναντός 07 17.
 ἐνιστάειν 11 30.
 ἐνόμιον. See XII.
 ἐνοχή 20 [7].
 ἐνταῦθα 07 57 20 5.
 ἐξ(?) 07 35, 55.
 ἐξάδραχμία. See XII.
 ἐξάκτωρ. See IX.
 ἐξευρίσκειν 07 54.
 ἐξῆς 07 11 11 30 20 [8].
 ἐξοδιάζειν 07 2.
 ἐξουσία: τῆ σῆ ἔ. 18 7, 10.
 ἐξωνεῖσθαι 11 36.
 ἔπαινος 07 53.
 ἐπαρχία 18 1.
 ἐπαρχος. See IX.
 ἐπαυξάνειν 07 9, 17, 53.
 ἐπεὶ 07 14.
 ἐπειδή 07 [17], 23, 28 19 4.
 ἐπεῖναι 17 5, 16.
 ἐπεξευρίσκειν 07 21, 44, 47, 53, 56.
 ἐπερωτᾶν 20 6, 20.

ἐπιγί(γ)νεσθαι 07 [8], 10.
 ἐπιδιδόναι 10 28, 29 18 19.
 ἐπιζητεῖν 20 15.
 ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι 18 3.
 ἐπιμελητής. See IX.
 ἐπίμε[14 ii 3.
 ἐπίσταλμα 07 13.
 ἐπιστέλλειν 09 6, 7 17 1.
 ἐπιστολή 11 41.
 ἐπιτρέπειν 16 9, 10, 12, 17.
 ἐπιφέρειν 11 49.
 ἐποίκιον: Ἡρακλείδου ἐ., Νόμου ἐ., see VII (b).
 ἐρωτᾶν 19 4.
 ἐσπερνός 19 6.
 ἕτερος 07 24, [31], 54 10 16 11 46, 69 20 15.
 ἔτι 07 4, 7, [25].
 ἔτος 07 57 08 [5] 10 26 11 29, 30 (bis), 53, 73
 12 33, 34, 123, 125, 133, 134, 171, 172 18 introd.,
 1, 3, 7, 8, [9], 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 23, 26, 28, 29,
 [31], 34, 35, 37, 38 17 3 20 3 22 105.
 εὐγενής 07 3, 11, 18, 26.
 εὐεργετεῖν 11 37.
 εὐεργέτης 20 [2].
 εὐλαβής: -βέστατος 19 2 (bis), 3.
 εὐπορεῖν 10 7.
 εὐρίσκειν 11 33, 35.
 εὐσεβής 16 6; -έστατος 20 2.
 εὐσταθμος 20 19.
 εὐτυχής 17 19.
 εὐχεσθαι 07 8.
 ἐφευρίσκειν 07 33.
 ἔχειν 07 6, 10, 47 16 15 18 [4].
 ἔφημα (ἔψεμ.) 23 vs. v 8.
 ἔως 19 7.
 ζευγματικός: (πλοῖον) ζ. 15 44, 56.
 ζευτλον. See σεῦτλον.
 ζυγός 20 19.
 ζῶον 14 ii 2.
 ἡγεῖσθαι 07 9.
 ἡγεμονεύειν. See IX.
 ἡγεμονικός. See IX.
 ἡγεμών. See IX.
 ἡδῆ 07 13, 36, 37, 41, 50, 51 09 4.
 ἡμέρα 19 1 20 15 22 68(?), 96(?).
 ἡμουν 10 6, 7, 12, 21 1 ei saepe.
 ἡνίκα 07 7, 32, 33.
 ἡπητής: χειρωναξίον -των, see XII.
 ἦττων: οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον 11 61.
 θαυμάσιος: -άτατος 19 2.
 θεῖος 08 3 20 10; -άτατος 20 2.
 θέλειν 11 36.

θεός. See VIII.
 θήκη 19 9.
 θησαυρός 08 3.
 θίβις (θειβ.) 24 3, 31.
 θνήσκειν 12 94.
 θρίσα 23 rt. ii 24.
 θυγάτηρ 21 1, 18, 20, 36, 55.
 θύρα 08 [2], 3 19 7, 8.
 θυρουρός. See X.
 θυσία 09 10.
 ἱατρός. See X.
 ἰδιοποιός 07 12.
 ἴδιος 07 52 08 6 09 6 10 21 16 16 20 7, 9; ἡ
 ἴδια 10 24.
 ἰδωτικός: ἰ. (γῆ) 10 11.
 ἱερατικός: ἰ. συντάξεις 09 5.
 ἱερεύς. See VIII.
 ἱερός: -άτατος 09 10; ἱερόν 23 vs. iii 20.
 ἱκανός(?) 11 50.
 ἱμάτιον 24 37.
 ἴνα 10 24 11 37 16 7, 14, 18.
 ἰνδικτίων 08 4, 11 19 [1] 20 introd., [3]; see IV.
 ἴπ. [07 20.
 ἰσομορία 07 10, 21.
 ἴσος 07 18, 23; τὸ ἴσον 07 28; ἐπ' ἴσης 12 57.
 ἰσοτιμία 07 21.
 ἰσότημος: τὸ ἰσότημον 07 34.
 ἰσότηπον 08 15.
 ἰσχύνειν 10 24.
 ἰχθυ(σπώλης?). See X.
 καθά 07 22.
 καθαρός 09 8; -άτατος 18 10.
 καθώς 07 26 10 28, 29.
 καιρός 16 3.
 καλάμη 10 20.
 καλάνδα 08 [5].
 καλός: -ός 07 3, 11, 27.
 καπήλιον 23 rt. v 17.
 κατάγαιον 06 3.
 καταλέγειν 07 10, 15, 17, 24, 46, 47.
 καταλείπειν 13 [5?], 9, 16, 27, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38
 16 7 18 6.
 καταναγκάζεσθαι 18 8.
 κατατιθέναι 07 18.
 καταφρονεῖν 10 3.
 καταχωρίζειν 07 4.
 κάτοικος: ἀριθμητικὸν -κων, see XII.
 κατοικ() 11 5, 10.
 κάτω 19 9.
 καυλλόν 23 rt. vi 21.
 κελεύειν 07 1, 41 09 9 11 39.
 κέλευσις 07 6.

κελλάριον 24 35.
 κεραμεύς. See X and XII.
 κεράμιον 24 4, 26.
 κερβικάριον 24 39.
 κεφάλαιον 11 34, 37 16 6.
 κεφαλωτόν 23 vs. iii 9.
 κηρωματικός. See X.
 κηρ(). See X.
 κίνδυνος 07 52 08 6.
 κλᾶν 19 10.
 κλείειν 19 8.
 κλέος 07 53.
 κληρονόμος 21 2, 17, 19, 35, 40, 45, 46, 50, 59, 66, 68,
 70, 72.
 κλήρος 07 21, 32, 33.
 κλήρουχος: κληρούχων(?) μαχίμων, see IX and XII.
 κλούιον 24 17.
 κλ. φ 23 rt. i 20.
 κοινός: κ. λόγος 23 rt. i. 10.
 κολακεύειν(?) 07 52.
 κολλᾶν 07 15 (bis).
 κόλλημα 09 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11.
 κολοκύνθη 23 rt. ii 23.
 κόμης. See IX.
 κομᾶτος 25 iii 9.
 κοράσιον 16 2.
 κοττιδιανός 08 10.
 κοχλιάριον 19 10.
 κρέας 23 rt. i 3 et saepe 24 18.
 κριθή 21 1 et saepe.
 κτήνος 10 14.
 κνάμιον 23 rt. i 6 et saepe.
 κύβρινος 24 26.
 κύριος 07 5, 8, 42 11 53, 55 17 6, 11 18 10 20
 20; see also VIII.
 κύρωσις 08 11.
 κωλύειν 10 6.
 κώμη 10 5, 23 11 15 20 12, 14, 24.
 λαγάριον 24 10.
 λαγιν() (= λάγυνος, -ιον?) 25 ii 3.
 λαγχάνειν 07 21.
 λαμβάνειν 16 4, 5, 10, 12.
 λαμπρός: -άτατος 08 5 17 11 20 5, [7], 20, 23.
 λαογραφία. See XII.
 λαχανᾶς. See X.
 λάχανον 23 vs. iii 8 et al.
 λέγεις 07, 4, 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, [27], 29, 30, 31,
 32, 35 (bis), 36, 38, 39 (bis), 40, 41, 43 (ter), 44
 (bis), 45, 47 (bis), 48, 49, 50 (bis), 51 (bis), 52, 53,
 59 17 5 19 4, 5, 6 (bis), 9.
 λειποτακτεῖν 07 46.
 λειτουργεῖν 07 13, 24, 25 (bis), 31, 36.
 λειτουργία 07 23, 30.

λεύκωμα 07 7, 22, 33, 41.
 λῆμμα 23 rt. i 1.
 λίνον 23 rt. i 24.
 λινόφυος. See X.
 λίτρα. See XI (a).
 λίψ 06 9; Λιβός τοπαρχία, see VII (a).
 λόγος 07 4 (bis) 08 10 10 20 13 7, 16 14 iii
 4, 5, 21 20 16 23 rt. i 1 24 30; κοινός λ. 23 rt.
 i 10.
 λοιπάς 23 rt. vi 24.
 λοιπογραφεῖν 13 2, 12, 23, 25, 29, 31.
 λοιπός 07 3.
 μά 19 5.
 μάγειρος. See X.
 μαγίστρος 23 vs. iii 15.
 μακάριος 16 7 20 8, 23.
 μαλλοκουρητή. See μελλοκουρητές.
 μανδάτον 16 8, 9.
 μαρτυρεῖν 07 4.
 μάχιμος: κληρούχοι μ., see IX and XII.
 μεγαλεῖον 07 5.
 μέγας: μειζότερος 16 10, 14; μείζων 16 4; μέγιστος
 20 [2].
 μεθιστάναι 20 14.
 μέλι 23 vs. iii 24.
 μελλοκουρητές (μαλλ.) 07 38.
 μέντοιγε 07 55.
 μέρος 09 6 15 66 16 17 18 5; τὰ μέρη ἐπαρχίας
 Ἀρκαδίας 18 1.
 μέσος 16 5.
 μεταδιδόναι 11 30.
 μεταξύ 16 [1].
 μετα[07 1.
 μετέρχεσθαι 10 8.
 μέτρον 08 12 (bis), 13.
 μέχρι 07 40, [44] 10 18 11 29.
 μηδαμῶς 20 14.
 μηδέ 16 12.
 μηδεῖς 16 18.
 μήλον 23 rt. v 23.
 μήν (subst.) 13 2, 9, 13, 16, 23, 25, 29, 31 19 1.
 μήν (particle) 07 7 10 20 20 14.
 μήτε 07 22 20 14.
 μήτηρ 18 [4], 6, 9 20 [5] 21 64.
 μητρῶος 18 5.
 μία. See εἷς.
 μικρός: -ότερος 16 5, 12, 16.
 μιμνήσκεισθαι 07 34 16 17.
 μισθοῦν 10 14, 17; -οῦσθαι 10 16.
 μναιαῖον. See XI (a).
 μνημονεῖον. See XII.
 μολιβ(ουργός). See X.
 μοναστήριον. See VIII.

μόνος 11 40 16 7, 16 18 4; οὐ μόνον 10 7, 15.
 μόσχειον 22 1 *et saepe*.
 μυστήριον: τὰ ἄγια μ., see VIII.

νάπιον 23 rt. ii 2.
 ναύκληρος. See X.
 ναυτικός. See X.
 νομή 07 8 10 12.
 νομίζω 18 3.
 νομισμάτιον. See XI (b).
 νόμος 08 3, 10 11 32 20 12, 25.
 νότος 06 8.
 νῦν 07 13, [25] 11 78.

ξένος 10 14.
 ξύλον 24 14(?) 16.
 ξύστρα 24 41.

ὀβολίσκος 06 4.
 ὄδε 08 15.
 ὄθεν 10 22.
 ὄθονηρά. See XII.
 οἰκέτης. See X.
 οἰκία 21 71 25 *passim*.
 οἰκοδόμος. See X.
 οἰκονόμος. See VIII and IX.
 οἶκος 20 8, 13, 17.
 οἶος 07 6.
 οἰοσάηποτε 20 15.
 οἰοσάηποτοῦν 20 15.
 ὄλος 07 40, 42.
 ὀμνύειν 19 5.
 ὀμοιοσ: -ως 13 1, 16, 34, 35, 37, 38 16 5 22 103
 24 8 25 ii 19. (—) 12 70, 73, 94, 100, 113,
 120, 146, 161.
 ὀμολογεῖν 18 10 20 9, 18, 20.
 ὀμολόγησις 20 21.
 ὀμολογία 11 26.
 ὀμοῦ 16 14 22 104.
 ὀνηλάτης. See X.
 ὄνομα 20 1; ἐπ' ὀνόματος . . . 11 8, 11, 47.
 ὀνομάζειν 07 30, 32.
 ὄνος: ἐξάδραχμία ὄνων, see XII.
 ὀπηγία 07 29.
 ὀπως 07 6, [48] 18 [10].
 ὀπ.νι() 23 rt. ii 18.
 ὄρκος 20 10.
 ὄρμισθαι 20 12.
 ὄρνιθοτρόφι(ο)ν 24 15.
 ὄρνις: τοκαδεία χηνῶν(?) καὶ ὄρνιθων, see XII.
 ὄρριον 08 9.
 ὄς: ἐφ' ὅ τε 20 13.
 ὄσος 07 33, 46 (bis), 55 09 7; ἐφ' ὅσον 07 8.
 ὄστις 19 1.

ὄτε 07 30 16 3 19 7.
 ὄτι 07 8, 13, 31, 33, 48 19 4, 5, 9.
 οὐδέ 07 48 10 20.
 οὐδέεις 07 [41], 49, 51 10 19 11 68, 69 16 6.
 οὐν 07 14, 24, 28, 32, 35, 38, 39 11 45.
 οὐσία: Νικανοριανή ο., see VII (c).
 οὖτος 07 4, 14 (bis), 17, 22, 25, 29 (bis), 30, 31, 32,
 34, 36, 40, 44, 45 (bis), 46 (bis), 53, 58 10 9, 18,
 19, 22 11 24, 32, 39, 46 16 8 18 7, 8 19 5, 7
 20 16, 17, [21]; -τως 07 15, 18 (bis), 26 (bis), 37
 (bis) 11 12.
 ὄφελω 07 51 11 34, 36 16 1, 3, 10, 11, 12.
 ὄφλημα 11 52.
 ὄψος 23 vs. ii 2 *et al.*

πανεύφημος 20 4, 7.
 πάνυ 19 7.
 παραδέχσθαι 11 33.
 παραδιδόναι 11 33, 39, 48 20 16.
 παραλαμβάνειν 20 17.
 παραμένειν 20 13.
 παράσημον 15 1, 3, 7, 12, [21], 24, 25, 28, 30, 34,
 37, 39, 41, 43, 49, 82, 84, 87.
 παρατηρεῖν 09 9.
 παρατιθέναι 07 4, 14.
 παραφέρειν 20 16.
 παρῆναι 19 1 20 6.
 παρενοχλεῖν 16 15.
 παρέχειν 20 18.
 παρούσα 19 2.
 πᾶς 07 22, 37, 44, 50 20 [21].
 πατελλίκι(ο)ν 19 9, 10.
 πατήρ 07 36 11 8, 11.
 πατρικός. See IX.
 παύειν 07 30, 51.
 πειράζειν 10 10.
 πελωχικόν. See XII.
 πέμπειν 09 8 11 44 19 8.
 πεντάμηνος 14 iii 5.
 περδ() 23 rt. v 22, vs. iv 19.
 περιουσία 18 5.
 περιστερίδιον 23 rt. v 10 *et al.*
 περσικόν 23 rt. vi 20 *et al.*
 πίπερι 23 vs. iii 23 *et al.*
 πίπτειν 16 7.
 πῖσος 23 vs. v 4.
 πιστεύειν 07 46, 47.
 πιστός 07 3 17 17.
 πλακοῦς 23 rt. iii 8 *et al.*
 πλε(λ)ων 07 53, 54 10 17 11 32, 35, 40.
 πληροῦν 07 10.
 πλινθευτής. See X and XII.
 πλοῖον: π. δημόσιον 15 33, 40; π. ζευγματικόν 15
 44.

πλύ(ν)τρια 19 9. See X.
 ποιεῖν 07 20, 27, 29, 45 10 11, 19 11 13 16 2, 8,
 [13?], 15 19 7, 10 20 18, [21].
 ποῖος 07 38.
 πόλις 07 7 20 9.
 πολιτεύεσθαι: -ομενος, see IX.
 πολιτικός: τῆς σεμνῆς π.(?) τάξεως 18 2.
 πολύκωπον 15 46, 52.
 πορθάριος (πορθμ.). See X.
 πράγμα 16 9 18 4, 5, 6.
 πραγματευτής. See X.
 πράσις 11 30.
 πρεσβύτερος 10 18. See also VIII and IX.
 πρῖν 11 45.
 προαίρεσις 20 [9].
 προβημ() 23 rt. vi 22.
 πρόγονος 10 5.
 προγράφειν: προγεγραμμένος 10 28 20 21.
 προθάριος. See πορθάριος.
 πρόθυμος: -ως 11 36.
 προκαταλαμβάνειν 07 23.
 προκαταλέγειν 07 14.
 προκείσθαι 08 9 (bis), 12 (bis) 10 28, 29 11 74 20
 [21].
 προκηρύσσειν 11 32, 50, 78.
 προλέγειν 08 10.
 προπέμπειν 19 7.
 προσγίγνεσθαι 07 11.
 προσδιδόναι 11 14.
 προσεῖναι 18 7.
 προσήκειν 16 [17].
 προσθήκη 16 4, 5, 11, 13, 15, 18.
 προσκείσθαι 13 introd., 8, 17.
 προσκεφάλαι(ο)ν 24 21, 38.
 προσοδικός: φόρος προσοδικῶν ἐδάφων, see XII.
 πρόσδος 16 4, 11.
 προσπορίζειν 20 [6].
 προστασία 18 7.
 προστασσειν 08 8.
 πρόστιμον 07 50, 51.
 πρότερος: -ον (adv.) 10 13.
 προτιθέναι 07 4.
 πρόφασις 07 49 16 15 20 16.
 προφέρειν 07 33.
 πρύτανις. See IX.
 πρῶξιμος. See IX.
 πρῶτος 07 19, 23, 24, 26, 28; τὸ πρῶτον 10 4.
 πυλῶν 06 1.
 πυρός: τιμὴ πυροῦ, see XII.
 ράφανις 23 rt. ii 25.
 ράκος 24 37.
 ρεβάσιμος 20 10.

σελίγιον 23 rt. i 4.
 σέλλιον 23 rt. v 12.
 σεμνός 18 2.
 σεῦτλον (ζεῦτλ.) 23 rt. iii 6 *et al.*
 σημειοῦν 11 44, 53.
 σήμερον 07 17, 25, 29, 31, 40, 43, [45] 19 1.
 σίτος 08 4, 12 (bis), 13 09 8 21 2 *et saepe*.
 σκανδαλίξειν(?) 07 43.
 σκεπάζειν(?) 07 45.
 σκεῦος 23 vs. ii 14 *et al.* 24 30.
 σκρινάριος. See IX.
 σφυρίδιον. See σφυρίδιον.
 σφυρίς. See σφυρίς.
 στάμος 24 17, 45.
 σταφίς 23 vs. iii 25 *et al.*
 σταφυλή 23 rt. v 21.
 στεφανοπλόκος. See X and XII.
 στρατηγεῖν. See IX.
 στρατηγός. See IX.
 στρατιά. See IX.
 συγγί(γ)νεσθαι 19 6.
 συγγεῖν 07 49, 50.
 σύγχυσις 07 50.
 συγχωρεῖν 07 41.
 σύλλογος 07 3, 11, 18, 37, 38, 43 (bis), 48, 49 (bis),
 53, [58].
 σύμμαχος. See IX.
 συμμένειν 10 25.
 συμφωνεῖν 08 12 (bis), 13 13 8, 17 20 [21].
 συναλλαγματογραφία. See XII.
 συνδικία. See IX.
 σύνδικος. See IX.
 συνέδρεῦεν 07 37 (ter), 38, 39 (bis), 41 (bis), 42 (bis),
 44, 46.
 συνειδέναι 16 14.
 σύνθεσις 07 22.
 σύνταξις. See XII.
 συσκευή 07 50.
 σφετερίζεσθαι 18 7.
 σφυρίδιον (σφυρ.) 24 27, 33, 44.
 σφυρίς (σφυρ.) 24 3, 28, 32.
 σχεδάριον (σχιδάριον) 16 1.
 σχίδαξ 24 42.
 σχιδάριον. See σχεδάριον.
 σωτήρ. See VIII.
 ταβουλάριος. See IX.
 τάλαντον. See XI (a) and (b).
 τάξις 08 [3]; ἡ σεμνὴ πολιτικὴ(?) τ. 18 2.
 ταράττειν 07 43.
 τέκνον 07 36.
 τελειῶν 20 22.
 τελευτᾶν 12 86, 95, 117, 183.
 τέλος: τ. συναλλαγματογραφίας, see XII.

INDEXES

τεσσαρακονταδραχμία. See XII.
τιμή 11 33; τ. πυροῦ, see XII.
τίς: διά τί 07 44 19 4; κατά τί 07 40.
τις 10 2 11 51.
τοίνυν 07 8.
τοιούτος 07 12.
τοκαδεία. See XII.
τόκος 11 29, 35, 36.
τοπαρχία: Ἀπηνιάτου, Λιβός τ., &c., see VII (a).
τόπος 12 2 20 15.
τοποτηρεῖν 18 1; and see IX.
τοσοῦτος 07 55 11 22.
τότε 07 9, 25, 34.
τρεῖς 16 1.
τριακάς. See V (b).
τύλη 24 36.
τύχη 07 53.

ύγ(ε)ία 24 19.
ὑδρευμα 10 5.
ὑδρευσις 10 8.
ὑδροφυλακία 10 20. See also IX.
ὑκλή. See XII.
ὑκός 10 18 12 46, 78(?), 110, 141, 175, 180 16 14
20 [5], 8, 11 (bis), [23] 21 75.
ὑπάρχειν 11 16.
ὑπατία. See III.
ὑπατος. See IX.
ὑπερβάλλειν 10 13.
ὑπερμαχεῖν 10 22.
ὑπεροχή 11 40, 51 20 11, [18].
ὑπερφυής: -έστατος 20 4.
ὑπισχεῖσθαι 11 33.
ὑποβάλλειν 07 39 (bis), 54, [55], 57.
ὑπογράφειν 08 8 11 2, 3 20 [8].
ὑπογραφή 08 10.
ὑπόδειγμα 11 40.
ὑποδέκτης. See IX.
ὑποθηκίματος; τὰ ὑποθηκίματα 11 50.
ὑπόμνημα 07 9, 12, 33.
ὑπομνηματογράφος. See IX.
ὑπομνύειν 20 10.
ὑποσφυρ[ίδιος?] 24 21.
ὑπόταγμα 07 20.
ὑποτάσσειν 08 7 11 40, 74.
ὑπόχρεως 11 46.

φάκινα 23 rt. ii 26.
φάναι 11 [49?].
φασήλιον 23 rt. vi 14 et al.

φέρειν 08 14, 15.
φεύγειν 19 4.
φθάνειν 07 31, 35, 36, 37, 39.
φιλία 18 [3].
φιλόπολις 07 3, 11, [15].
φλουμάρης. See X.
φοίνιξ 24 13, 28, 33.
φόρος. See XII.
φροντίς 07 6.
φυλακή 20 17.
φυλή 07 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27,
28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 46, 54, 55, 57.
φυλ() 11 7.
φωαεῖν 07 3, 11, 15, 18, 19, 26, 27, 37, 38, 58 17 7,
[8], 12, [16].

χαίρειν 08 2 11 43.
χάριν: τουτοῦ χ. 18 7.
χάρις 07 22 18 [10].
χάρτης 23 rt. i 26.
χαρτουλάριος. See IX.
χείρ 20 9.
χειρογραφία 22 106.
χειρωνάξιον. See XII.
χήν: τοκαδεία χηνῶν(?) καὶ ὀρνίθων, see XII.
χιτών (χειδών) 24 43.
χοινικ(ι)αῖος. See XI (a).
χοίρειον 22 2 et saepe.
χορτηγός: (πλοῖον) -όν 15 31, 50, 60.
χρεία 16 6.
χρεωσ[] 11 56.
χρηματισμός(?) 11 49.
χρηματιστής(?). See IX.
χρῆν 07 [29], 31, 32, 37, 43.
χρήσθαι 10 6.
χρόνος 07 10 13 4, 11, 14, 19, 21, 25, 27, [31], 33, 36.
χρυσάιον 20 19.
χρυσσοχός. See X.
χωματικών. See XII.
χωρίς 09 1.

ψήφος 07 8.
ψωμίον 23 vs. i 3 et al.

ώκεανέ (-ναί) 07 11, 12 17 12.
ώνη 23 rt. i 5.
ψόν 23 rt. iv 19 et al.
ώρα 19 6.
ωριπράτον 23 rt. iii 17.
ώσ(αύτως?) 13 34, 35, 38.



6 (a)
 ΚΣΑΙΟΥΔ
 ΙΝΟΥ ΠΕ
 ΝΑΡΙΠΑΡΧΟΓΟ
 ΝΑΥΤΑΓΕΝΗ
 ΝΕΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΩ
 ΕΦΗΝΤΕΝ ΩΝ
 ΥΣΑΦΙΟΝΤΗ
 ΥΠΟΥΔΕΒΟΥΛΕΥ
 ΟΑΚΜΑΝ ΓΑ
 ΝΕΦΝΟΣ ΑΠΟΔ
 ΚΗΘΩ ΠΡΟΟ
 ΡΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΑΔΕΤ
 ΟΚΝ ΟΥΔ
 ΝΤΩΒΟΝ ΤΥΤΟ

6 (c)
 ΠΠΟΥΣ ΚΡΑΞΑΙΟΥ
 ΚΤΕΝΗΑΝΩ ΠΡΟ
 ΚΑΤΕΒΗΔΟ

ΑΜΙΝΟ
 ΑΜΒΟΠ
 ΑΧΑΝΤ
 ΕΠΗΜΗ
 ΤΗΝΑΙ
 ΛΥΔΑΙΟ
 ΔΡΩΤΟ
 ΝΑΚΙΣΙΟ
 ΤΑΡΝΙΔΟ

ΧΙΝΤΑΙΤΑ
 ΕΙΝΚΑΔΑΤ
 ΑΝ ΕΡΕΧΗ
 ΝΕ ΘΑΙ ΕΑ
 Ο ΠΩΣΑΚΟ
 ΡΑ ΚΟΜΑΘΑ
 ΟΥΤΑΙΤΟ ΤΟΥ
 ΔΑΦΟΜΕΝΑ
 ΠΛΗΘΩΝΤΩ
 ΓΑΡΙΑ ΠΕΝ
 ΟΥΤΕ Τ Π
 ΑΔ

6 (b)
 ΠΙΝΤΙΝΑ
 ΣΙΑΝ ΑΝΤΙ
 ΚΑ ΠΕΔΩΝΤ
 ΕΙΠΕΡ
 ΝΑΠΡΑΝΑΤ
 ΒΕΛ ΤΟΥΤΟ
 ΔΑΔΕΡΤΗ

9
 ΕΧΑΙ
 ΕΧΑΙ
 ΑΙΟΕΡ
 ΙΟ

10
 ΑΔΕΙ
 ΑΒΥΝ
 ΙΙ

12

9
 ΟΠΡΑΠΤΟ
 ΟΜΩΝΙΟ ΚΕΝΩ
 ΑΣΟΚΕΝΗΤΕΑΗ
 ΚΥΤΕΡΕΝΑΣΚΩΝΤΕ
 ΡΕΝΙΕ ΝΕΦΑΝΑΚΜΑ
 ΝΤΕΜΚΕΝΠΕΡΑΦΟΝ
 ΟΝ ΑΙ Ο ΚΕΝΑΘΗ Α
 ΕΝ ΟΤΑΡΙΟΤΕΡΗΟ ΚΑΙ
 ΜΗΤΕ ΑΝΤΙΘΕΣΤΕ

20
 ΗΝΠΑΤΕ
 ΦΙΝΑΜΑΔΑ
 ΚΑΥΠΟΘΕΝΤΑ
 ΗΟΑΝΗΜ
 7 (c)

8
 ΟΒΕΙΔΕ

7 (a)
 ΑΒΑΕ ΗΙ
 ΟΠΑΕ
 ΚΑΜΕ
 ΚΑΜΕ
 ΧΑΥΝΑΝΗ
 ΧΙΟΥΝΑΝΗ
 ΗΤΑΥΟΧΟΡΟΑΛ
 ΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΕΑΤΕ
 ΗΙΟΥΔΕΜΙΑ
 ΠΙΝΤ
 7 (b)

10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30
 31
 32
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 71
 72
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 74
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 76
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 78
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 80
 81
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 83
 84
 85
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 87
 88
 89
 90
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 92
 93
 94
 95
 96
 97
 98
 99
 100

ΤΡΥΦΩΝΙΣ
ΠΑΛΛΗΓΟΝΙ
ΕΠΙΣΤΑΛΑΚΤΗ
ΑΚΩΝ

2396

ΑΜΩΙ
ΑΙΚΙ
ΥΦΟΤΕΣ

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ
ΕΙΠΕ ΕΤΟΥ
ΚΟΜΑ ΘΥΜΟΥ
ΤΟΜΑΤΟΥ
ΕΡΑΝΝΑΝΕ ΠΙ
ΟΡΙΚΟΙ ΕΙΣΚΕΝ ΤΑΤ
ΑΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΜΕΤΑΙΔΡΑ
ΒΕΛΩΝΑ ΓΕΡΟΙ
ΠΡΟΣΜΑΙ ΕΝΕΜΟΙΑ
ΚΟΝΤΙΕ ΙΚΤΟΤ
ΣΕΠΤΕ
ΑΛΛΑ
ΥΦΟΦΕ
ΑΜΕΝ

Fragment 1

2398

Fragment 14

14

15

16

17

18

Fragment 23

23

24

25

26

27

19

20

21

22

33 (a)

33 (c)

33 (b)

33 (d)

31

30

Fragment 32

32

38

39

40

41

43

28

35

2395

Fragment 2

2



I (a)

[Fragment 1]
 [Fragment 2]
 [Fragment 3]
 [Fragment 4]
 [Fragment 5]
 [Fragment 6]
 [Fragment 7]
 [Fragment 8]

14

I (b)

[Fragment 9]
 [Fragment 10]
 [Fragment 11]
 [Fragment 12]
 [Fragment 13]

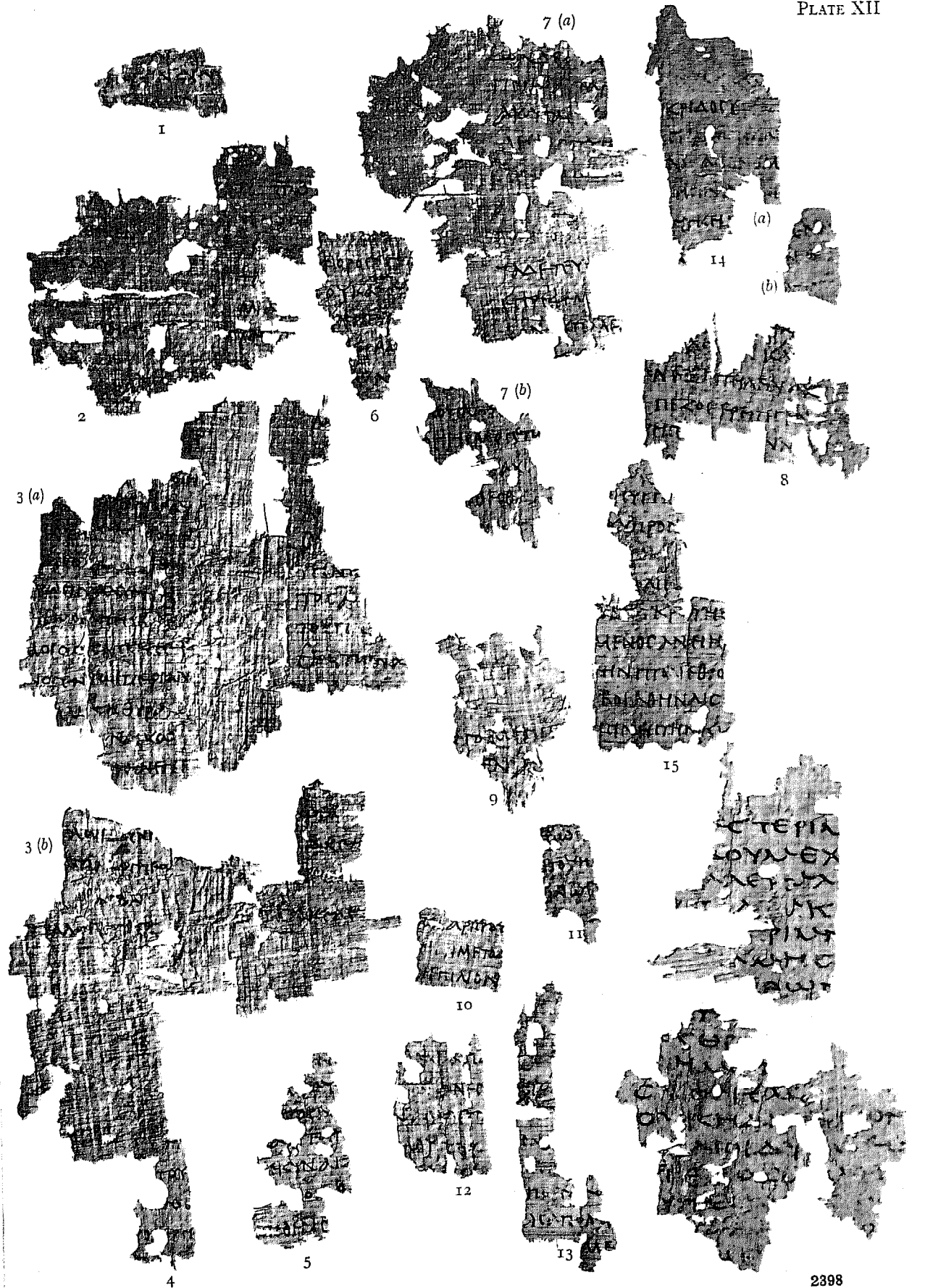
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 II

2 (b)

[Fragment 15]
 [Fragment 16]
 [Fragment 17]
 [Fragment 18]
 [Fragment 19]
 [Fragment 20]
 [Fragment 21]
 [Fragment 22]
 [Fragment 23]

2 (c)

[Fragment 24]
 [Fragment 25]
 [Fragment 26]
 [Fragment 27]
 [Fragment 28]
 [Fragment 29]
 [Fragment 30]
 [Fragment 31]
 [Fragment 32]



ΑΤΕΝΟ
 ΜΟΥΔΕ
 ΙΕΠΕΥ
 ΝΩΤΕΕΝ

2384

ΑΥΤΟΙΣ...
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 ΕΙΣ...

2385

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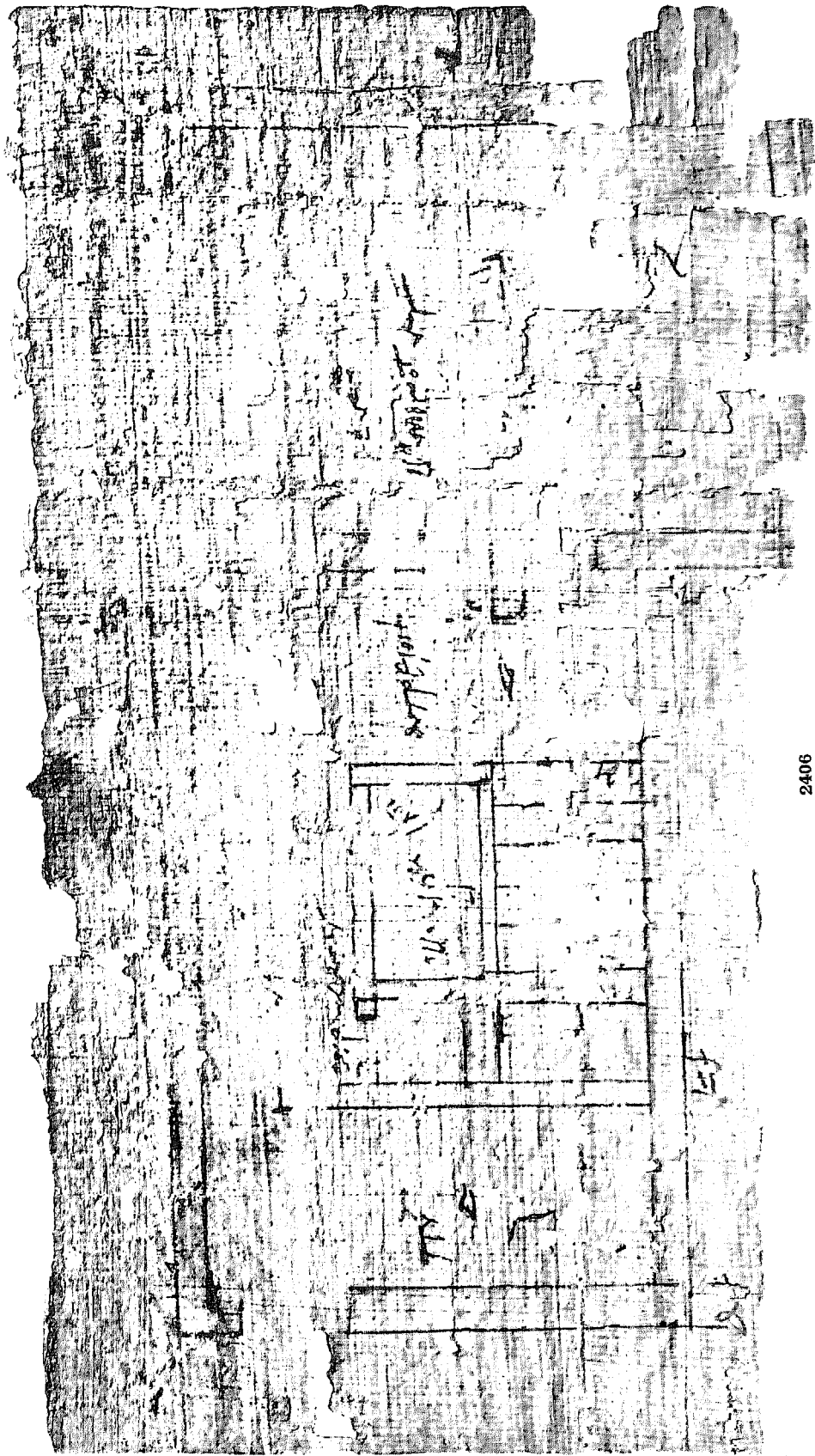
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[The text in this section is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a list or a series of entries, possibly in a historical or scientific context. Some words are barely discernible, but the overall structure suggests a tabular or list-like format.]

2401



2406